THE BRITISH JOURNAL
OF
DELINQUENCY

Vol. X October, 1959 No. 2

EDITORIAL

In his clinical account of window smashing Dr. Prewer follows a fashion only too rarely observed by criminal psychiatrists, indeed by most criminologists; namely, to break down the generic terms applied by the law to 'offences.' Convenient for social and penological purposes as these omnibus terms may be, it is simply absurd to go on using labels such as 'larceny,' 'robbery,' or 'theft' without attempting to discriminate between the different conditions of which such behaviour is a manifestation (end-result). Many otherwise erudite researches on criminal behaviour are rendered worthless by neglect of this simple precaution.

No doubt, in the eyes of the law such clinical discrimination would seem to threaten a social impasse. For it is clear from Dr. Prewer's article that he finds himself compelled to distinguish unconscious, as well as conscious, motivations in window smashing. Factors such as frustration, grievance, and revenge have certainly unconscious, as well as conscious, roots; 'need for punishment' is by definition unconscious; and the influence of depression, to which Dr. Prewer refers, indicates the necessity of exploring unconscious factors. Depression, like window-smashing itself, is an end-result.

Perhaps the most confusing unconscious factor is that which goes by the name of symbolism. In the case of fetichism it has been established that the choice of e.g. shoes, corsets or mackintoshes as sexual objects is determined by the unconscious symbolism which serves to disguise and defend against the pervert's underlying genito-sexual strivings. Strap slashing, pigtail-cutting, ink splashing and many forms of arson also depend on the unconscious symbolic value of these activities, as does the choice of object stolen in compulsive theft. The task of the forensic psychiatrist is to discover in which offences these and other psychopathological factors have proved decisive. If and when he does so it is incumbent on the law to waive

its apparently rational estimate of the offence and recommend measures appropriate to the disorder.

The inadequacy of legal categories is greatly aggravated in the case of such ambiguous and euphemistic captions as ' in need of care or protectection '. In this instance the law, generally credited with the capacity to call a spade a spade, is guilty of a surprising mealy-mindedness, behind which lies a less surprising sexual bias. In his study of adolescent girls, most of whom were under supervision on the score of being ' in need of care or protection ', Dr. Gibbens makes it clear that the concern of society is to stop these girls running away from home, keeping late hours, drinking and being sexually promiscuous. Commenting on the severity of these social standards, he remarks, somewhat caustically: "We do not ask if the male offender is refraining from drink, promiscuity or the abandonment of his children, provided he abstains from crime '. There is, in fact, scarcely an aspect of this problem from its social diagnosis to disposal, treatment and after-care which is not obscured by a profusion of conflicting standards and policies. To be sure even such a clear sighted observer as Aichhorn succumbed to the euphemistic temptation to label as ' wayward ' youths who more often than not were plainly pyschopathic. And Dr. Gibbens is to be congratulated on having reduced to some order a category which owes its existence as much to sentimentality, social guilt, and sexual prejudices as to concern with the vicissitudes of adolescent character. It is little wonder that he found the results ' on the whole rather disappointing '. Only one-third of the cases observed were in the strict sense ' offenders '. In short the machinery of the law operating through compulsory supervision, probation, even psychiatric examination is an inappropriate and in some instances positively prejudicial instrument for dealing either with bad upbringing or with pubertal and post-pubertal stress.

The subject of restitution has its importance as rooted in the very nature of the human situation. It started with the loss of Eden and has continued to be an issue which has wedded ethics to law and law to psychopathology. Dr. Eglash's bibliography illustrates the wide spectrum within which, from pole to pole, the discussion can with profit be maintained ; and from discussion to research into the efficacy of creative restitution.

Both psychoanalysis and anthropology (including the folk expression of religious practices) combine to throw the most penetrating light on the need for some expiation. It is not as in some modern aspect the need and the equity to restore to the injured person what he has lost or suffered, but to restore to the offender what everyday ethics calls his self-respect, and what in

pyschoanalysis we understand by inner need for restitution by reducing the tension within the three basic mental institutions, Ego, Super-ego and Id.

The restoration of personal integrity always means not solely this inner harmony, but a re-establishment of social relationship, conformity within self, with society, and in the stoic sense with Nature. In this sense creative restitution means freedom to make something more out of oneself and by so doing make a social contribution. This sounds an heroic measure—a goal only reached by Goethe's Faust. Nevertheless, while religions have attempted it by ritual expiations, therapy is constantly achieving it, and the individual neurotic who damages others achieves it more often that has been noted, in ' acting out '. This is often noted in children. Where creative restitution cannot be achieved by individual spontaneity the concept of guided restitution holds out promise for penal procedures of the future.

The effort to type human beings with the object of predicting behaviour has a respectably long history. In the 18th century Halle and Cabanis attempted it with very inadequate instruments. Latterly, and perhaps since William James' division into ' tough ' and ' tender ', the pyschologist has resuscitated the dichotomy with the basic characterological features of Jung's introvert and extrovert. Raisman reproduced the division through the social context of the Lonely Crowd with inner-directed and outer-directed types. Morphologists, in relation to psychiatric differentia (Kretschmer, Pende, and Sheldon), have made further progress in this direction and the Gluecks have specifically applied this method in delinquency.

Allen A. Bartholomew has in this journal utilised the Eysenckian conception of statistically determined dimensions of personality. Both the quasi normal E.1 continuum and the pathological N.N. are a kind of spectrum implying in the one case a basic polarity in human nature and in the other a sort of hierarchy from the apparently normal to the most disturbed.

In the handling of the best available questionnaire (The Maudsley Personality Inventory) the investigator realizes how much the responses are dependent on the milieu of the test—which must affect the mood of the examinee. We are all extravert or introvert on occasion, and bear the marks of the high and low tides of mood. Moreover, as Bartholomew has compared first offenders with recidivists we are again confronted by time changes which may bring out in the obviously older recidivists character features as well as degrees of extraversion not seen early in life.

The author realizes the problem of small samples in so basic an issue, and Eysenck's statistical doubts regarding the not entirely orthogonal character of the two personality axes illustrates how much more is worth doing in this field with these concepts of personality and with perhaps finer diagnostic criteria.

SUPERVISION AND PROBATION OF ADOLESCENT GIRLS [1]

By T. C. N. GIBBENS (London)

Studies of delinquents have nearly always confined themselves to boys, but there is increasing awareness of the great importance of delinquency and waywardness in girls, even though the numbers involved are much smaller. In order to throw light upon the treatment of adolescent girls of this sort, a follow-up was made of 185 girls who were placed on probation or under supervision after being sent to a remand home for older juveniles between 14 and 17 and examined by the author at the court's request.

The girls were seen between September 1951 and September 1953. In May 1954 follow-up questionnaires were sent to all the probation officers originally concerned, but owing to fairly frequent transfers of officers or girls to other parts of the country, it was not possible to trace all of them until July 1955. Although the questions were meant to refer only to the supervision period, the officers naturally tended to include as much up-to-date information as possible, and this often extended well beyond the close of supervision. In several cases the officers very kindly made special visits to obtain the latest news, and some were able to report not only committal to an approved school, but also the progress of after-care on release. The period of observation was very variable. Two-thirds of the supervision or probation orders were for one year, and one-third for two years. Many of these girls were committed to approved schools, etc., before their time had expired, but there were 26 cases who remained at liberty and were under observation for one or two years after official supervision had ended.

The questionnaire asked for factual information as well as assessments of the progress of the case, and the officers were asked to conclude with a general outline of the history; so that it was possible to use the officer's ratings as well as to make a rating of one's own.

[1] The survey was carried out with the help of a grant from the research fund of the Bethlem Royal and Maudsley Hospitals. The author is most grateful for the help of all the probation officers concerned, Miss Goode of the Home Office Probation Division and of Miss Massee and Mr. Adrian Marriage.

The follow-up originally comprised 200 supervision and probation cases from the remand home. This number was only accumulated after 358 girls had been seen; the remainder were dealt with in other ways. The returns showed, however, that 12 had not, as we supposed, been placed under supervision, and no information was obtained in 3 cases. The follow-up therefore referred to 185 out of 188 girls. The 358 cases were dealt with as follows:

Committal to approved schools . .	78
„ „ Borstal	3
„ „ care of the Council . .	49
Discharged, remitted, various . . .	40
Supervision or Probation Order . .	188
	358

The charges which had led to the supervision or probation orders of the 185 cases traced were as follows:

In need of care or protection (supervision orders)	121	158
Beyond control (supervision orders) . . .	37	
Larceny, etc. (probation orders)	27	
	185	

Care or protection cases predominate since many of these girls come to London when they run away from home and are taken into custody by the police and brought before the court; 30 per cent. of the 185 had homes outside London. But a psychiatrist to a girls' remand home is assured of seeing a fairly representative sample of wayward girls because one principal object of remand is often to obtain a medical report about pregnancy or venereal disease. A psychiatric report may be requested at the same time, but it may not be the main reason for the remand. Nine cases were first seen after they had broken the conditions of an order; this small number of recidivists is not sufficient to make the larger sample unrepresentative.

Cases charged with indictable offences—usually shoplifting or embezzlement—tend to be under-represented in remand home experience. The girls usually have a home to go to, and since many of them are not sexually promiscuous or particularly wayward, the courts are reluctant to remand them in custody with experienced girls who might have a bad influence. Those who are remanded in custody are usually known to be wayward as well as dishonest. Only 27 of the 185 seen by the author were of this type.

Yet this relationship between waywardness and delinquency in girls is particularly important. Many unhappy girls who before puberty play truant, and steal from home or from shops, turn at 15 to disobedience at home, staying out late, running away and making undesirable friendships with boys. Waywardness may replace delinquency in those for whom stealing represented a substitute for affection. The sex-conscious girl presumably finds that such behaviour not only provides distractions and all the things which a boy can buy for her, but provides the consideration and affection which she needs. Those who steal at 15 or 16 include many relatively uncomplicated cases of dishonesty and some who have been prevented by physiological or psychological factors from making this transition. The outlook tends to be different; it is perhaps much better than waywardness in the simple cases and much worse in those who combine waywardness and delinquency.

These considerations made it desirable to study a group of larceny cases of sufficient size to compare with the supervision group. In the course of other enquiries a synopsis had been made of the records of all girls of any age who appeared before the Metropolitan Juvenile Courts in the six months from September 1951 to February 1952. During this time, only 66 girls of all ages were placed on probation. These were included in the follow-up and replies were obtained in 57 cases. In order to make the group as comparable as possible with the supervision group, only the 30 larcency cases who were aged 14 or over were added to the 27 remand home cases, making a total probation group of 57. The following details therefore refer to a follow-up of 158 supervision orders and 57 probation orders in girls of 14 and under 17. The author had examined all the girls placed under supervision, but only 27 of those on probation.

The main object was to consider the response to treatment in relation to the individual histories and characteristics of the girls. This aspect will be dealt with on another occasion, but in the meantime it is useful to consider the results as a whole, provided the limitations of doing so are borne in mind.

The Results

Breach of the order was recorded in 77 (48 per cent.) of those under supervision, but in 19 (32 per cent.) of those on probation. Breach of supervision is of course far more easily tolerated, and the decision as to whether there has been a breach is more often subject to such considerations as whether there will be any value in bringing the girl back to court, especially if she is over 17.

There was a *variation* in the conditions of the supervision in 52 (32 per cent.); but this was quite rare in probation cases.

Subsequent conviction was recorded against 9 (16 per cent.) of the probation group and 21 (13 per cent.) of the supervision group. In the latter the offences were most frequently drunkenness or insulting behaviour.

The general outcome was assessed in two further ways. The officers were asked to say whether in general the girls' behaviour had improved, shown little change, or deteriorated. Their answers were as follows :

	Supervision	*Probation*
Improved . .	58 (37%)	26 (46%)
No change . .	35 (22%)	14 (24%)
Deteriorated . .	59 (37%)	17 (30%)
No comment . .	6 (4%)	—

There was often, of course, considerable fluctuation in response and sometimes this rating was in opposition to the apparent trend of the case, as when a girl improved gradually in spite of (or because of) further court appearance. And there might be no appreciable change in some girls who appeared to do quite well or quite badly. These reports emphasized the need to distinguish permanent from transitory traits of personality, which is much the most difficult task of the psychiatrist. Traits of either sort are usually compatible with reasonably good social adjustment, but in one case success may be accompanied by no significant change in character, in another there may be a subsidence of a whole complex of undesirable characteristics.

The main object of the follow-up was the self-instruction of the author. Nowadays, the psychiatrist is encouraged to make recommendations to the court; but though he knows the background of the individual case in considerable detail, he usually lacks the sort of knowledge which busy courts possess through their case committees—an accumulated experience of the outcome of a series of cases. Without both sorts of knowledge, advice is likely to be unreliable. So it becomes necessary to attempt a classification of one's own into successes, failures and doubtful results; or, perhaps, into reassuring, acceptable and disappointing results. This is inevitably very subjective; satisfactory criteria are difficult to find, especially in relation to wayward girls. Any such criterion as freedom from an overt breach or a reconviction is apt to be very unrealistic, since after the age of 17 these girls can only be dealt with voluntarily, and a marked change for the worse can occur without any action being possible. There are many pitfalls in trying to adopt a standard of ' reasonable social adjustment ', especially in mental health terms.[2] The classification took into account whether the girls were settled in one place, in fairly steady employment, in reasonable equilibrium

[2] See Robert Lindner, ' Prescription for Rebellion ', Gollancz.

with their parents, guardians or landladies, not causing anxiety by drinking, keeping very late hours, or being very promiscuous. But it must be remembered that a general social standard of this sort is a severe one to apply, compared with the standard of mere freedom from crime, by which one judges the result of other penal treatment. We do not ask if the male offender is refraining from drink, promiscuity or the abandonment of his children, provided he abstains from crime.

The probation officers' views about progress were very helpful in arriving at this classification, but it was also possible to use the answer to another question. They were asked: 'Where a girl had reached her 17th birthday during supervision, did this complicate the management of the case?' 'Would other steps have been taken had she been under 17?' When the answer was that further action would have been taken, this led to an assessment of failure if other information tended in the same direction. If action was considered probable, this helped to make the result doubtful.

The emphasis, however, was upon supervision and probation. Failures were those who were sent to Borstal or approved schools or training homes after a breach (which accounted for two-thirds of the failures) or, if only supervised, those whose general social adjustment at the time of the last observation was sufficiently disappointing to raise the question whether some other form of treatment would have been more effective. Successes certainly did not raise this question and, if the girls had been young enough to be brought to court for some minor reason, would probably have been dealt with by discharge or further supervision. Some results were doubtful because information was insufficient, but most showed a generally uncertain social adjustment. In probationers, the issue was usually more clear-cut, except for a number who were becoming beyond control, although there had been no breach. In each case, the latest report was taken as the basis of assessment, and not merely the condition of the girl at the close of official supervision. The assessments were as follows:

	Supervision	*Probation*
Success . . .	53 (34%)	36 (63%)
Doubtful . .	39 (25%)	12 (21%)
Failure . . .	65 (41%)	9 (16%)

Forty-one or 63 per cent. of the failures (25 per cent. of the total supervision group) were committed to approved schools and 7 (13 per cent.) of the probation cases. The average length of supervision in those cases was three to four months.

It is convenient here to consider the relationship between success and failure and the answer to the question about the 17th birthday. The

question was only relevant in 103 cases, and of course in none of the probation cases; the remainder were either under 17 or action was taken by committal to an approved school, etc.

	Success	*Doubtful*	*Failure*	*Total*
Further action certain .	1	5	12	18
Further action probable	—	8	6	14
No action needed .	46	22	3	71
	47	35	21	103

Some examples may be given of the type of assessment. One clear-cut and one less certain example will be given of a doubtful and failed result; the two successes are both somewhat complicated cases quoted for interest.

Case I—Success

Age 16 years 1 month. Care or protection. She left home with a girl-friend and took a residential job in a club in which her boy-friend was a porter. She started having sexual intercourse with him, and after a few days they left the club together, wandered round, sleeping out on many occasions, and finally went to Wales. After two weeks, he gave her up for another girl, and she reported to the police.

She was the sixth of nine surviving children of a family of twelve. At 3 she was evacuated to an aunt in the North until 8. At 9 her mother (who had previously made a good recovery from a psychotic illness) died of heart disease, and she was probably in care for a short time with the younger children. At 13 she was again taken into care until 15 since she caused anxiety by associating with a man of 40 and receiving letters ' of a sordid nature '. At 15 she returned to her home which was run by her older married sister and her father. She is on good terms with them, but receives little control. The sister said she was well-intentioned, but lazy, irresponsible and unsettled. The father, a stolid man of limited intelligence, thought he had not wanted to be strict with the younger children since they had been away. She had had eight jobs in a year and was associating with undesirable boys and men.

The psychiatric report stated that she was anxious, discouraged and guilty about her behaviour. Her I.Q. was 93, but she seemed slower and duller than that. There was no mental abnormality and she was generally restless and insecure. Puberty had begun early, she had strong sexual interests; and, since return home, she had had a constant succession of boy-friends and gone to the pictures as often as possible (five nights a week). She was conscience-stricken, seemed to feel hopelessly weak and incapable of altering, and thought she ought to go away for two years. She did not want to go home; a hostel was recommended. Supervision was for two years. At the hostel she absconded after three months, but was allowed to go back. She had too many jobs to list and left them to take periodic trips to the West End, taking younger girls. Soon after she was 17 she was allowed to go home and soon afterwards became pregnant. She married the father, an

exceptionally nice boy; is now very domesticated and does all the work at home. Just before she became pregnant she would probably have been committed to an approved school if she had been young enough.

Case II—Success

Age 15 years 2 months. Care or protection. She ran away from home and lived for ten days in parks and shelters with a lad of 18 who had absconded from a probation hostel. He was sent to prison for carnal knowledge. Her father died when she was 7 and she lived with her mother and a much younger sister, on whom the mother lavished affection in a thoughtlessly demonstrative way. The younger sister had delicate health and two months before had been sent abroad for special treatment. The girl had had to leave school early to go to work to help pay for this. There was no trouble, however, until she met some boys from a probation hostel. On interview she was a highly intelligent (I.Q. 136), warm-hearted, straightforward girl who made a good impression. There was a marked concealed jealousy of her little sister; she was very attached to her boy-friend. The school report was excellent.

Supervised at home. After three months she ran away again and had intercourse with her ex-lover, and was for a time a prostitute in Hyde Park. She was sent to a hostel and there did so well that she was allowed home after six months. Her employer thought so well of her that he made special arrangements for her to continue work from home. She passed some examinations and obtained a superior secretarial job. She had a series of steady boy-friends and gave no more anxiety while in the hostel. The order was discharged nine months early for good conduct and after two years she was still doing well. The mother began to appreciate the girl's jealousy of her sister, and excessive interference by relatives was reduced.

Case III—Doubtful result

Age 16 years 3 months. Beyond control. She had had seven jobs in seven months, had been going to the West End with an older girl, meeting foreign men and coming home in the early hours, staying out all night on several occasions, and at least once with a strange man. She defied her mother and talked of leaving home.

The mother had an unhappy home-life with a strict and unfeeling mother and married young to get away. The father was alcoholic and aggressive and deserted when the girl was 2. From 2 to 4½ she was with her grandmother. There was then a reconciliation and a boy was born, but the father deserted again when the girl was about 7. Soon afterwards the girl developed a severe stammer and started to steal from home, but this passed off in two years after treatment at a clinic; she still has a slight speech defect when excited. Afterwards the mother married the present stepfather, a kindly but ineffectual man, and there is a young step-brother. There were no further difficulties until she left school. School report; below average, obedient; empty, foolish sort of girl, vain, easily led.

Psychiatric report. I.Q. 108. A distressed, bewildered girl who took refuge in a casual, indifferent manner, or in parading her attractions. There was considerable emotional disturbance, with neurotic features, in relation to her mother. She said: ' Mother is not like a mother at all; she is young and attractive; wish I had the sort who is fat and elderly. We argue like equals.' She complained

that mother would not allow that she was growing up. The report stated: ' Prognosis as matters stand is rather poor, but a valuable change could be effected if she received concentrated attention from a group of helpers for six months.' Hostel residence and psychiatric treatment were advised; but there were no hostel vacancies and she went home. She attended a clinic on four occasions and failed four other appointments. The mother attended on four occasions, but fell off and discouraged the girl. The girl had periods of depression and insomnia; improved in herself, but continued to be difficult. The strongly ambivalent attitude of mother and girl became very apparent and she always seemed apathetic. She had several changes of probation officer and rarely reported, and the employment record was poor. After six months she was brought back to court, but would not accept a hostel placement. Six months later, after she was 17, she left home and the order was discharged. The home atmosphere was very unsatisfactory, and this was probably the best thing she could have done, although it was disappointing that she had resisted the official offer of a hostel vacancy.

Case IV—Doubtful result

Age 16 years 10 months. Care or protection. She was arrested looking dirty in an amusement arcade in Piccadilly, and had been away from home for several days without consent to see a soldier friend home on leave, but sleeping in parks and shelters.

She had always lived with her parents just outside London; they were allegedly hard-working and respectable, though the father expressed lax views about sexual behaviour when he visited the remand home, and the mother was said to be antagonistic to authority. The father was a long-distance lorry driver and owned their comfortable home. As soon as she left school the girl associated with a man of 23 whom the parents thought satisfactory, but he probably introduced her to bad company, for he was later sent to prison for house-breaking. She helped on a market stall in the mornings and sat about in cafés in the afternoons. She had never settled to regular employment and had been out of work for fairly long periods, offering plausible excuses which were readily accepted by her parents. At 16 years 1 month she was put on probation for theft from a house with another girl who was sent to Borstal. She improved a little, but at 16 years 4 months ran away for three days with a boy. The father was persuaded to charge her as beyond control, but although she ran away for four days during remand in custody and got into further trouble, he withdrew the charge when she returned to court. She liked outdoor work and was found a residential job at some kennels, but tired of this and returned home in three weeks. At 16 years 8 months she again left home for a week with a boy, but the parents supported her excuses and care or protection proceedings were brought. School report: underhand and unreliable.

The psychiatric report stated that she was below average intelligence (I.Q. 87), well behaved on remand. She was a pale, tense, restless and dissatisfied girl, but with no condition calling for treatment; suspicious, resentful and untruthful, but this was perhaps because of the threat to her liberty. It was difficult to get a clear impression of the family background because of the parents' defensive attitude. She gave a confused account that her original lover was a violent and jealous man who had already beaten up one rival; that he was due out of prison soon; she was frightened and wanted to marry to obtain protection. It was suggested that she

did not appear to be in need of approved school training, but might settle if she got married young, which seemed her main ambition. She was placed under supervision for a year.

She continued to work very irregularly. When 17 she married a casual acquaintance and they lived with her parents. He did not support her, and when she was 18 he was sent to prison for four years for house-breaking. She then left home and went to London and associated with different men. At 18 years 10 months she was charged with larceny from a coloured man with whom she had been living and whom she had decided to leave and, after a remand in custody, when she was found to have V.D., she was placed on probation for a year. She returned to her parents while waiting for the man to find a flat for them and then returned to him for a short time. She returned to her parents again for a few weeks and then went off with another man for a few days. Thereafter from 19 years 2 months until the end of probation at 19 years 11 months she remained at home. This improvement was apparently due to an attachment to a foreign service-man whom she hoped to marry when she could get a divorce. Her parents knew of her behaviour, but had not rejected her in any way and were always ready to have her home when she wanted to come.

Case V—Failure

Age 16 years 9 months. Care or protection. She had been away from home for a week with a woman of bad reputation and for three days had been living with a coloured man.

She was the twelfth of thirteen children. The mother had an unhappy childhood since her mother died when she was 4 and her father's housekeeper gave ' more thrashings than dinners '. She married at 17, but her husband was ' no good ', lazy, continually unemployed and had a violent temper. He was especially violent to the older daughters when they were adolescent. When the girl was 4 the mother was evacuated with all the children; she saw little of the father, and he finally left when she was 9. The mother was a large, motherly, determined woman, full of self-righteousness and with rigid views on any subjects discussed. She was very proud of the respect of others for having worked all her life and brought up such a large family unaided. She was a strict disciplinarian and admitted giving severe beatings. Two older girls had had to get married young, but they were a united family. There was no trouble until the girl left school, when she became very lazy, would not go to work or keep a job. In the last few months the girl has been staying out late and associating with an undesirable woman. The mother was surprised that thrashings had achieved nothing.

School report: meek and submissive; no trouble; we were sorry for her.

The psychiatric report stated that her behaviour was polite and willing; she was rather solemn and solitary; I.Q. 87. No serious temperamental or emotional disturbance was noted. She regarded herself as following the older girls in their temporary rebellions, which had turned out well. She had no feeling of not fitting in with the rough family atmosphere until very recently, when her friendship with an undesirable girl had produced a storm. She was sorry and wished to go home. Supervision at home was recommended for a trial period, but the mother's attitude was now so punitive that it was doubtful if she could demonstrate enough of the affection and understanding needed.

Under supervision the girl had numerous jobs, made little effort to fit in with the family and continued to frequent the coloured quarter of the town. When further court action was considered she improved a little, but only until she was 17, when she disappeared and was thought to have gone to live with her coloured friends.

Case VI—Failure

Age 15 years 9 months. Larceny of £20 worth of valuables from home while her mother was in hospital with arthritis.

The fourth of five children. Two older sisters had quarrelled and left home to get married. From 3 to 9 years she was evacuated to an aunt and rarely visited by her parents. She did not wish to come home, felt out of place, laughed at for her northern accent and address. Her mother had been an invalid ever since her return and was in and out of hospital. She complained that she ' had all she wanted ' when young, but after 13 all this had stopped, although the family had more money. She quarrelled frequently with her father and her sisters and was blamed for the sisters leaving home. At 14 she was referred to the care committee by the school for truanting and difficult behaviour which the parents said had gone on for four years. The father wanted her to see a psychiatrist but, when this was arranged, refused to co-operate and the girl was extremely resentful towards him about ' being treated like a criminal '. She was sent to an aunt, but was sent home after reports of bad behaviour, which she strongly denied. She did not get on at school, ' felt stupid ' and that people were looking at her. After leaving school she worked at two jobs, but quarrelled with her father who wanted her to earn more money and, when he sent her on any expensive holiday, she criticized him for only doing it to boast of his affluence to the neighbours. She gave up evening classes because she felt her parents suspected her of going with boys when she came in late. She ' dare not mention boys; it was not allowed; her father would kill her '. With boys she was embarrassed and felt a fool. She said her father was very irritable, but added that she had a terrible temper herself and it was all her fault.

School report: inattentive, cannot concentrate, centre of disturbance and unrest.

The psychiatric report stated that behaviour was good but erratic. She was rather solitary, complained of being shy and self-conscious, but entertained the other girls with the piano and songs on the first day. She intended to be co-operative, but there was a marked emotional instability and she could not control sudden changes of mood even in a single interview; suspicious, introspective, resentful, then guilty and remorseful. She had dreams that someone was being murdered. Her father seemed to have equally unstable qualities. It was felt that there would be difficulties for some time, but psychological treatment was not considered likely to help. A hostel residence near her aunt was suggested.

In a hostel she never settled down. She cried easily, thought everyone was against her, was self-pitying, made many promises but failed to keep them. She made friends with foreign servicemen and took other girls to their flats or to the West End. After 17 her condition of residence was deleted and she went back to her mother who was in a half-way house, but she did not look for work and went off to a military camp with a man for a month. The order was cancelled, but she returned, thinking it was in force, and was placed in a Salvation Army hostel; but after a week she disappeared. She has been reported by the police in Piccadilly and seems to have deteriorated.

It must be emphasized at once that, even though such a classification is worth while, it is not possible to deduce a great deal from it without considering the characteristics of the individual girls. Some who were failures by general standards may have made considerable progress compared with their original state. One cannot conclude that other forms of treatment would have had a better chance of success without knowing as much about the general results of such treatment.

The officers were asked whether they could attribute the results to any particular change in the girl or her environment. This was difficult and perhaps sometimes impossible to answer with any certainty, though the answers often contributed to the general understanding of the case. The officers were much too modest about regarding themselves as an important environmental influence. An almost bewildering change of environment is fairly common in supervision cases. Accidents, such as loss of parents, etc., were not very frequent. Usually it was a question of persevering steadily with a recognized problem. Changes in the girl herself were most often reported in the probation group. In about a quarter there was a noticeable increase in maturity and self-confidence during the period.

Further important information which was not known on remand only came to light in 27 (17 per cent.) cases, and then in most cases it referred to a minor re-assessment, *e.g.*, that an unsatisfactory parent had turned out to have an even worse influence than was originally supposed. One girl was found later to have been adopted; the adoptive mother had concealed the fact that she was the natural aunt. One girl confessed that her father had interfered with her; one confessed that her original accusation of this sort had been untrue. It was encouraging to find that the remand home investigations did not often overlook important factors.

The employment records of these girls were surprisingly good. Eighty-four per cent. of 47 probation cases about whom there was information or who were not at school had distinctly good records. And 48 per cent. of 136 supervision cases had good or very fair records. Twenty-eight persons had poor records; all but one were rated as failures and half of them were sent to approved schools. Steady employment is one of the objective matters which probation officers can insist upon, and a close relation between committal and a poor record is natural, especially since this provides legal evidence of a breach; but it was more remarkable, to me at least, that so many unstable girls could be persuaded to keep the same job throughout supervision and have one or at most two changes. Youth employment officers have said that there are large numbers of adolescent girls on their books who constantly change their jobs without being particularly delinquent or wayward in other respects. I have always assumed that it was easy to

over-estimate the significance of frequent changes in girls of this age, who must often regard employment as a dull interlude between school and marriage. This may still be true, but the great success achieved by probation officers does suggest that there are many casual or negligent parents who could do a great deal more by advising their daughters properly.

An attempt was made to explore the difference in the *sexual and social adjustment* of the groups by asking whether sexual adjustment had given cause for anxiety, and whether the girls could be classed in one of six groups—having little social life, social life with girls only, with groups of boys and girls, with casual boy-friends, or with steady boy-friends, or whether they graduated from one group to another. Answers were available in 131 of the supervision and probation cases. The sexual behaviour of half the supervision cases caused anxiety, but only 21 per cent. of the probation cases. Thirteen per cent. and 18 per cent. respectively had little social life, or only with girls. The various patterns of progress were difficult to record. The supervision cases caused anxiety, of course, by association with casual boy-friends, and the probationers tended more often to graduate from group activities to steady boy-friends. They were not noticeably backward in associating with boys: 41 per cent. ended with steady boy-friends.

One of the risks of supervision in the open is that the girl may become pregnant, and the frequency of *pregnancy and marriage* was one of the main points of interest. Among the supervision cases 20 (13 per cent.) became illegitimately pregnant during or soon after the supervision (only one child may have been conceived after marriage). Eight of them married during the pregnancy or not long afterwards, though not always to the father. Altogether 16 (10 per cent.) were known to have married during or soon after supervision.

It was a surprise to find that the rate was about the same in the probationers: 7 (12 per cent.) became pregnant, all illegitimately, though two of them subsequently married. Altogether, 8 (14 per cent.) married during the period covered by reports. However, the risk of pregnancy is probably greater in supervision cases since a larger proportion of them were removed to some kind of residential care. If we deduct the 41 sent to approved school and the 22 who spent some of the time in training homes, the number 'at risk' was 95 and the incidence of pregnancy among them becomes 20 per cent.

Nevertheless, it is doubtful if promiscuity should be regarded as very much enhancing the dangers of pregnancy. Among 18 of the pregnant supervision cases 8 had steady boy-friends and 10 associated with casual boy-friends; in 5 the officers felt no particular anxiety about their behaviour. The probationers showed a more normal tendency to graduate to steady

relationships and pregnancy occurred fairly frequently in them. The matter has to be viewed in conjunction with the great frequency of forced marriages in the general community. Unmarried mothers are often girls who are quite stable, but lonely and affection-seeking and not particularly wayward. The few who reach the remand home are often involved in relatively simple quarrels with their parents about a fiancé and the pregnancy may be a way of forcing the parents' consent to the marriage. Pregnancy, in fact, seems to be a risk attached to ' settling down and going steady ' and *ceasing* to be wayward; and no doubt has to be cheerfully accepted.

Pregnancy and marriage involve added burdens at a difficult time, but are not necessarily disasters. The arrival of an illegitimate child was usually considered to imply a ' doubtful ' outcome, but was compatible with quite a successful outcome.

	Success	*Doubtful*	*Failure*
Pregnant (supervision) .	2	9	9
Pregnant (probation) .	2	4	1
Married (supervision) .	3	10	3
Married (probation) . .	4	3	1

Residential conditions were of course much more frequently inserted in supervision than probation orders: 97 (61 per cent.) of the supervision cases had a condition of residence in a hostel, training home, or with friends and relatives. The form of residence in relation to the outcome is given below. It is perhaps a little confusing to speak of a training home as a form of supervision; but it has to be classed as such if used in the first instance, and as residential training involving failure of supervision if used after a breach of supervision at home or in a hostel.

SUPERVISION

	Success	*Doubtful*	*Failure*	*Total*
Hostel . . .	17	13	23	53
Training home .	5	5	5	15
With relatives, etc. .	11	5	7	23
At home . .	20	18	29	67
	53	41	64	158

PROBATION

	Success	*Doubtful*	*Failure*	*Total*
Hostel . . .	2	1	2	5
Training home .	1	1	3	5
With relatives, etc. .	4	3	—	7
At home . .	31	5	4	40
	38	10	9	57

There was abundant demonstration of the extremely valuable work done by hostels for these girls. This was more apparent qualitatively than quantitatively. The success rate may not seem particularly high, but among the 17 successes were 11 cases which were outstanding successes, and many of the failed or doubtful cases got on well as long as they were in the hostel, but deteriorated afterwards. In some instances the probation officers spoke of the difficulty of providing for successful cases who had to leave a hostel when their time was up, and the need for continuation hostels which would permit a long stay.

The training homes also had some great successes, though with perhaps a narrower range of cases. Several hostel failures were sent later to training homes; these did not often show much permanent benefit. Substitute homes were most frequently with aunts and less often with grandparents, married sisters and friends.

Officers were asked to report the type and duration of any *psychiatric treatment*. Nineteen per cent. of the supervision and 14 per cent. of the probation group received some psychiatric treatment, with the following results:

	Success	*Doubtful*	*Failure*	*Total*
Supervision .	11	7	12	30 (19%)
Probation .	4	4	—	8 (14%)

The outcome, however, differed very much according to whether in-patient mental hospital treatment was given or out-patient psychotherapy.

	Success	*Doubtful*	*Failure*	*Total*
In-patient treatment .	1	2	8	11
Out-patient treatment .	10	5	4	19

The probation cases all received out-patient treatment. In addition to the 11 girls who received in-patient treatment during supervision, 6 of the

170 girls originally dealt with in other ways than supervision were admitted direct to mental hospitals.

The girls who received in-patient treatment were usually extremely unstable, with gross hysterical or sometimes pre-psychotic symptoms, and sometimes a history of recurrent suicidal attempts. The outlook in these more abnormal girls is naturally serious. Usually it is clear that a long period of treatment and possibly subsequent training will be required, but it is feared that there might be mental deterioration if the girl were placed in a strictly disciplined environment in which she would be held responsible for all that she did. In some less serious cases one feels that in the girl's present state she might be such a problem as to ruin her chances of making a constructive response to training, but that a period of treatment might induce a more co-operative frame of mind, so that if committed to an approved school later the relationships would start in a more hopeful way. In a mental hospital, apart from the value of other forms of treatment, it is possible to use fairly strict control without the implications of punishment, and it is possible to some extent to treat individuals differently without detriment to the general disciplinary morale.

On the whole these hopes have not been realized, though such girls would almost certainly appear as failures in relation to the general standard even when there were considerable improvement. One would need to know the outcome in five or ten years, rather than in two or three. Psychiatric institutions often cannot provide all that is required; the girls tend to be discharged fairly soon as undesirable trouble-makers if they do not discharge themselves; and, since the courts may feel reluctant to commit a girl who has been classed as a ' mental case ' to an approved school, the result is sometimes that they receive neither treatment nor long-term training. These cases (whom we should call ' psychopaths ' if the word did not so often carry the gravest prognosis, which is sometimes belied, especially in these girls, by startling recoveries) seem to need a combination of the practical and lengthy training of an approved school with the facilities and orientation of a hospital. It would have to be remembered that such facilities might very much increase the proportion of problem girls who need such special institutional training, for the tensions inseparable from any form of institutional life might force some girls into this category who might have made a tolerable adjustment under the freer conditions of supervision. Much has still to be learnt about the value and limitations of compulsion.

Those who received out-patient treatment were very different. They were usually neurotic girls from relatively good backgrounds, whose quarrels with their parents were based on conflicts and misunderstandings which could be substantially reduced by psychological treatment. However, it

would be a mistake to suppose that it was only or chiefly psychological treatment which produced such good results. In many cases the treatment was too short to have produced all the improvement, though consultation and discussion between psychiatrist and probation officers played its part. In the majority the result was probably mainly the achievement of the probation officer. It is not surprising if those officers who most often refer cases for consultation or treatment are also those who appreciate the forces which are at work, and succeed in introducing a therapeutic element into their supervision. Many more girls were recommended treatment when seen on remand than received it; but this is inevitable since the situation is often passing out of control when they are seen, and there may be little time for treatment before a fresh crisis occurs. Two of the series, and perhaps more, were able to obtain treatment in Duncroft Approved School, which provides institutional psychiatric treatment for this type of case.

Supervision differs from probation in that no compulsion can be applied after the age of 17 for a breach of the order. Nevertheless, there is presumably little difference in the methods of management of the two orders; in each the aim is 'to advise, assist and befriend'. The spirit in which supervision was carried out was reflected in officers' answers which in most cases indicated no difficulty in continuing after the 17th birthday. There is a type of mature girl—not always easy to diagnose—who responds better when all possibility of compulsion is removed. But whereas a fair proportion of probation cases can be expected to do quite well on their own initiative, with the probation officer holding a watching brief, it is in the nature of all 'beyond control' charges and most care or protection charges that there is an acute and often extremely complicated situation of conflict, with a florid disturbance of emotion and behaviour which calls for a great deal of casework. The supervisor, like all good parents or anyone who deals with adolescents or indeed most adult delinquents, has to be ready to adopt a flexible system of rôles, being at one moment a practical helper with finding a job or lodgings, at another an adviser about spending money or making friends, at another a skilful diplomat in smoothing over family crises, and all the time a therapist who watches for the receptive moments when the deeper perplexities and resentments, which are always present, can be ventilated and dealt with. The probation officer is in an advantageous position to achieve this; for the vast majority of these girls accept the need for a supervisor quite readily, even though they start with a limited idea of her rôle, and though some of the older ones have an overt or unspoken resentment against having to account for their behaviour to anyone. The practical rôle leads imperceptibly into the therapeutic, and there is no doubt that in many of these cases it did so. Wayward adolescent girls seems to need more than

any others the supervision of the most experienced, skilful and sympathetic probation officers. Eight years' experience at the remand home certainly convinces one that the London courts are particularly well served in this respect; and the same might well be said of other areas if one knew them as well.

The psychiatrist has further objectives, but in many cases would be happy to achieve as much. Some of the girls who need treatment will accept it readily. But for many there are just as many unspoken resentments about ' being made out to be mental ' and a general reluctance to believe that words can achieve much; it is deeds which speak. Moreover, the active collaboration of the parents in treatment is often needed, but they are less ready to see the need for this when the girl is an adolescent than they do when the patient is still a child. Psychiatric treatment of offenders involves a similar flexibility in rôles according to changing needs and responsiveness. Appearing in court to confirm that the patient has attended regularly, and other practical gestures, may act as a powerful lever in the treatment situation. It is noticeable that those with the greatest experience in treating delinquents over a long period emphasize the wide interpretation of what constitutes ' treatment '. As I see it, about 20–25 per cent. of these girls need and could profit from psychiatric treatment in addition to supervision, if the difficulties of attendance, place of residence, etc., could be overcome. At the other end of the scale, a similar proportion need social work of a relatively limited kind. In between there is the half who may receive a rather similar sort of help from any of several agencies which have access and influence. At present without doubt the lion's share of the work and the credit falls to the probation officers. Apart from the skill, the continuous contact plays a part in this; in fact one wonders whether any attempts should have been made to make categories of success or failure, except in terms of contact; that if supervision lasts it is a success, even if the ultimate response is disappointing, and that the only failures are those who make virtually no contact and are committed to approved schools, usually quite quickly. Yet the sort of criteria used in this paper resemble, as far as one can judge, those used by the courts in making decisions; it certainly appears that they consider the prospect of social deterioration in a wide sense and not only the details of the offence itself.

Although nearly all these girls were either 15 or 16 years old, there was such a wide range of maturity, personality and family situation that it is difficult to draw general conclusions about the most stabilizing features of supervision. In the acute conflicts between parent and girl any improvement tends to be twofold, by improving the girl's own standing and also reducing the parental exasperation. As long as a girl works regularly, many

parents seem to feel that criticism of other sorts of behaviour should be more cautious and tactful. And parents are so sensitive to misbehaviour in their daughters that they welcome an experienced referee. In the simpler cases in which there is a fundamental acceptance of the girl, these conflicts may subside remarkably in a year or two when the girl is old enough to do as she likes but with more sense, and the parents come to terms with having a grown-up daughter. In many cases, however, there is an element of parental rejection or ambivalence which dooms the girl to an anxious three or four years until she is mature enough to be independent. It is a truism to say that it is mainly an accepting relationship with someone, whether probation officer, understanding landlady or, of course, future husband, which provides the support for this transition. One cannot avoid the impression that wayward girls are more liable to stabilize suddenly and completely, given the right circumstances, than boys. Perhaps it is that society imposes a passive and receptive rôle upon girls, especially in these social strata—though wayward girls largely consist of the few who will not accept this rôle—so that there is more chance that simple good luck will bring them into contact with the person who will give them what they want.

In view of the number of disappointing results, it would be well to consider how often prostitution enters into these histories. Members of the public sometimes speak of these girls generally as potential or actual prostitutes, but this is a gross exaggeration; prostitution, in fact, appears rather rarely in their histories and the problems it presents are different from those of waywardness in general.

Among 358 girls seen in the remand home, 16 (4 per cent.) were living by prostitution when arrested. About an equal number were arrested in the company of prostitutes, or were living with them for a time, but there was no suggestion that they had been prostitutes themselves. Prostitutes frequently harbour runaway girls and boys within putting any demand on them, at least for a time.

Eight of the 16 were sent to approved schools, etc., but the remaining 8 were among the supervision cases who were followed up at this time. The outcome of the group was: Success, 2; Doubtful, 5; Failure, 1. Three certainly never became prostitutes again and showed no inclination to become so; two reverted to prostitution for a time but gave it up later and seem to have abandoned it; three probably reverted to it again, and gave it up, but are so unsettled that it is doubtful whether they will return to it. The outcome for these recidivists was: Success, 1; Doubtful, 3; Failure, 1. Apart from these five who reverted to it, the follow-up reports upon the 185 supervision and 57 probation cases mentioned a period of certain or probable prostitution in 13 cases (5 per cent.) and a doubtful possibility in 4 others.

The outlook in these was worse since they included a number of girls who were beyond the reach of the law, but it was far from hopeless (Success, 2; Doubtful, 2; Failure, 9). In the majority it was quite transitory, although a poor adjustment continued.

Discussion

As a whole, these results may be regarded as rather disappointing, in the sense that one could hope that more of the miseries and difficulties of these girls were a reaction to temporary stresses, and less often the result of long-established stresses and defects of character. But it has already been emphasized that it may be very misleading to draw conclusions from such massed results without considering individual differences. To the author, at any rate, they do not suggest that a larger proportion of girls should be committed to approved schools while it is still possible, nor that the age of care or protection proceedings, within the present legal framework, should be raised so as to bring more of them under control. A few comments may be made, however, based upon these results and personal recollection of the girls concerned.

The first conclusion is one that has no doubt been drawn long ago by those who are chiefly concerned—that it is desirable to detect and help girls of this sort at an earlier stage. No doubt this is constantly being done. This group represents waywardness of late and sudden onset, and reveals nothing of the large numbers who are diverted by the local authorities or moral welfare agencies at an earlier stage of disturbance. But it is characteristic of girls that they nurse their grievances in silence until they burst out into disturbed behaviour in adolescence, and the question of early detection is much more difficult than in the case of boys. If methods of prediction of further delinquency in juveniles come to be applied successfully, it is safe to predict that they will be less reliable in girls than in boys! Such detection outside the sphere of the juvenile courts avoids the problem of legal proof that a girl is beyond control or in need of care or protection. It is significant that only one of the 185 could be regarded as a trivial case who did so well and showed so few problems that the officer felt that the supervision order could have been dispensed with. Yet this happens quite frequently in probation cases. There was some indication that one of the courts had a number of relatively mild cases, which might indicate that community feeling about enlisting the help of a juvenile court for behaviour problems varied from one area to another.

Secondly, it was noticeable that a high proportion of those who did well had some period away from home. This did not necessarily foster a final separation from home, but there was often an improvement in relations

with the parents after a change of this sort. The problems have often been some time in coming to a head, and it seems that one may overlook the extent to which parental exhaustion played a part; after a break, parents seemed more capable of taking up their responsibilities, reminding themselves perhaps how much they wanted and missed their daughters. Those who stayed at home throughout supervision included milder cases who made a good adjustment, but there were many in which the problem grumbled on, held within bounds by the exertions of probation officers; and perhaps some time after supervision had closed the girl would announce that she could not stand her home any longer and was going to find lodgings. The psychiatrist is the last person to recommend removal from home unless it seems unavoidable, and there are, of course, many who need re-adjustment at home and are quite unwilling and unsuitable for removal. My point is only that short-term removal appears to increase and improve the ties with home more often than one might expect. Such a conclusion is only valid in relation to individual personalities. Waywardness in almost all these cases represents fundamentally the first gesture for independence, and there is a large group who proceed rapidly to work out their own life away from home and need encouragement to do so. Between these mature girls and those who are too immature for anything but treatment at home or residential training, there is a fairly large group who benefit from temporary removal. It seems unlikely that earlier or more frequent committal to approved schools is indicated, but rather an extension in number and type of all forms of alternative homes—in hostels, residential jobs and with foster parents—especially if such cases are dealt with increasingly at an earlier stage.

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON WINDOW-SMASHING

By R. R. PREWER (Parkhurst)

Malicious damage to property is a common offence; indeed, the number of cases of this nature in which proceedings are instituted is in the region of 12,000 a year. They vary enormously in seriousness, from the total destruction of a priceless work of art on exhibition to the smashing of a solitary tumbler in a public house. Some are pathetic, more verge on the ridiculous. A case which appeared to fall within the latter category concerned some small boys who stood on a railway footbridge watching the trains pass underneath. One picked up an old boot, and dropped it neatly down the chimney of a locomotive. He was observed by a policeman in plain clothes who happened to be going home that way, and subsequently found himself charged with committing malicious damage to a locomotive! However, experience suggests that the vast majority of these cases concern broken windows, and these too vary from a solitary pane in a telephone kiosk to a series of sheets of plate glass in a busy shopping centre.

The law is rather complicated in regard to malicious damage, largely because there are two different statutes which deal with it. To put it briefly, all cases which concern property valued at five pounds or less must be heard in a magistrates' court, and those where the value exceeds twenty pounds by Assizes or Quarter-Sessions. If the value of the property lies between these figures, the case may be heard in either a superior or a magistrates' court, depending on the Act under which the prisoner is charged, his own wishes in some circumstances, and the discretion of the magistrates before whom he first appears. In actual practice most cases are tried by the magistrates, and the penalty is usually a fine. However, each year some hundreds of men and a handful of women are sent to prison for this offence. Before the last war there were between 500 and 600 committals each year for malicious damage to property; and although the number fell to less than 300 in 1942, it again rose rapidly after the war and in 1957 passed the 700 mark. Of course, official statistics do not indicate the precise nature of the damage done; but from personal experience over a number of years in a local prison, it would appear that window-smashers outnumber all those committing other kinds of malicious damage by something like fifty to one.

Sometimes a window-smasher will be sent to prison because repeated fines for the same offence have failed to deter him; more often a fine has been imposed, but the prisoner has been unable to pay it. Only in a handful of

cases is the extent of the damage such that a court is left with no option but to pass a prison sentence.

Two schizophrenics arrived at the same local prison within a few days of each other, both charged with smashing windows. This prompted an enquiry into the antecedents, mental state, and motivation of the crime in a series of window-breakers. It was in no sense a piece of research, and from a purely psychiatric aspect proved rather disappointing. Nevertheless, this particular type of offence appeared to be virgin soil, and the conclusions drawn—tentative and incomplete as they are—might prompt further enquiry by others.

The Offenders

Ninety-eight consecutive receptions of men who had been convicted of breaking windows were considered. A very few, including one grossly psychotic individual and a man known to be an imbecile, were remanded to prison for a medical report; but the great majority had received prison sentences. Their ages ranged from 20 to 75, with an average of 36 years, 9 months. Twenty-one were natives of the Irish Republic, five were Scots, two Poles, and one a Welshman; the remaining sixty-nine were English. Sixty stated that they had no home in this country, including the two Poles and nineteen of the Irishmen; this emphasizes the connection between malicious damage and a wandering habit of life. The high proportion of Irishmen might be accounted for by alcoholic tendencies, lack of home ties in this country, and perhaps in some cases by a studied contempt for constituted authority.

Seventy-three men admitted to previous convictions for a variety of offences, some to long criminal records; but only thirty-three had been convicted of malicious damage before. This figure is rather surprising, as one gets the impression in a local prison that it is the same few window-breakers who appear over and over again. But it was quite expected that drink had a great deal to do with window-breaking, and sixty-five of these men said that they had been drinking immediately before their offences. One of these men had been drinking methylated spirits. Four others were so drunk at the time of the offence that they claimed no memory of the event.

All these ninety-eight individuals were submitted to psychiatric investigation. Counting the two cases which prompted the enquiry, five schizophrenics were seen. One had previously been under certificate on three occasions, and had phases of excitement together with delusions of persecution. He smashed all the windows in his father's house with an axe. Another case had no previous history of mental illness. A young man, who was acutely psychotic, wandered away from home and 'slept rough' in the neighbourhood; he ate whatever he could find in the fields. Although

his family and indeed the whole village knew of his condition, nobody took any step to restrain him until he smashed all the windows in a derelict house; this led to his prompt arrest.

Four cases of arterio-sclerotic deterioration were discovered, but only one of them had reached an appreciable stage of dementia. Of the two epileptics seen, one broke a window to get a bed in a police station, because he had nowhere to go; his disorder was not the direct cause of his offence. The other epileptic broke a window in a public house after a tussle with the landlord; it is very doubtful whether he would have committed the offence if he had not had a great deal to drink. Four cases of marked depression were seen, but it was considered that many of this series had experienced transient depression at the time when their offences were committed.

One man was an imbecile. He lived with a married sister, and was 45 years of age. He had never been in trouble before, although he was known to have outbursts of irritability and excitement from time to time. On this occasion he suddenly smashed a number of windows in his sister's house without any adequate cause, and she commenced proceedings against him in the hope of obtaining his removal elsewhere. He was eventually dealt with under the Mental Deficiency Acts. In passing, it should be mentioned that imbeciles in prison are very rare. Feeble-minded persons are not at all uncommon in prison, and it was surprising that there were none in this series; but six men were very dull. Nineteen other prisoners appeared to justify the title of psychopathic personalities, although long prison experience tends to restrict this category to the more pronounced cases.

The Offences

The temptation which a large sheet of plate glass holds for a man with a grievance, or who wishes to attract the maximum of attention, is obvious. Twenty-one of this series had smashed shop windows. One, a Pole, ran down a shopping street smashing one window after another; he was frustrated and unhappy, because he could not adjust to English life, nor obtain his passage back to Poland. An old beggar entered a branch of a multiple stores with the intention of plying his trade; he was promptly ejected. As soon as he was outside he kicked in the glass panel of a door with his heel. Yet another, a vagrant of low intelligence, smashed the window of a village shop in the early hours of the morning, in order to steal food which was displayed there. An elderly and alcoholic Scotsman smashed a tailor's window on a cold night in order to steal an overcoat. Yet another tailor's window was smashed by an angry young man who had only left prison that same morning. Enraged by what he considered the meanness of the local Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society, he spent the whole of their gift on drink, and then went back in the dark to throw a stone through the window of their office.

He mistook the office, and so broke the window of the shop next door.

Ordinary dwelling-houses figured in seventeen cases. To break a man's window is an easy way of getting revenge on him, more especially if he is bigger or more aggressive than the breaker. Moreover, it is an easy offence to commit after dark, with a good chance of escaping without detection. One young man was in love with a farmer's daughter. The farmer did not approve of their friendship, and kept his daughter at home, while he refused the young man admittance. The latter stood at a safe distance from the house and threw stone after stone until he had broken all the front windows. Five men smashed windows in what had previously been their own homes, but which they had left after quarrelling with their wives; two were trying to get in at the time, two wanted to pay out their wives, and one wanted to pay out the man who was cohabiting with his wife. A more complex case was that of a man of 41 who was charged with stealing from his employer; his wife was in hospital and his children were temporarily accommodated in a home. He brooded over these misfortunes and tried to drown his troubles in drink; the result was a wild outburst in which he smashed sixty-three panes of glass in the house of which he was tenant.

Police stations receive more than their fair share of stones and bottles through windows, or have their cell windows knocked out by men who are left with no other means of venting their indignation. One man, to make sure of his arrest, threw three milk-bottles into a room full of detectives in a big police headquarters. Another, an epileptic aged 48, found himself late at night outside a police station near the foot of a steep hill. The only accommodation which would normally have been available to him was at a reception centre a mile away, a journey which involved climbing the hill. Anxious to avoid the climb, he decided to spend the night in a cell, and proceeded to throw a handy brick at a police car which stood empty outside the station, causing a large dent in the wing. He then went inside and reported his offence. A suspicious constable followed him outside to view the damage, but in the meanwhile two other policemen had emerged by another door and driven off. Disbelieving the whole story, the constable refused to charge him, so that my informant was obliged to throw a stone through the office window before he could be accommodated. Next day he was charged with malicious damage both to the window and the car, receiving a proportionately heavier sentence; he came to prison with a grievance. It is remarkable how many homeless wanderers—and whatever statistics may say to the contrary, there are still a lot of them about—take the attitude that it is the bounden duty of the Force to provide bed and breakfast if all other resources fail. Besides those individuals who are anxious to get inside the police station, yet others are indignant at finding themselves arrested (usually for being drunk) and

proceed to smash the cell windows as the only form of protest left open to them. Six men in this series had behaved in such a manner, usually explaining that they ' only wanted to attract attention '.

Surprisingly enough, public houses only figured in nine cases. Some men will smash a window because they have been refused more drink, or because they have been ejected for misbehaviour. Fights are not uncommon outside public houses in some districts, and inevitably the bar windows are liable to be broken, not always by accident.

Hostels were involved in nine cases also. They are the refuge of large numbers of homeless men, some of whom will smash a window if refused admission. Fights involving inmates may cause broken windows also. Closely allied to these hostels are the reception centres, those last vestigial remnants of the old workhouses. Six men in this series had broken windows in a reception centre, either because they had been refused admission or because they were dissatisfied with the prevailing conditions there. One man was walking between two large towns; his way led through a town which still had a reception centre. It was late at night and bitterly cold. After knocking at the gate of the centre for some time, he was addressed by a voice from an upper window, which enquired his business. He said that he wanted to be admitted, because he was walking from one large town to the next in search of work; whereat the voice replied, ' Keep on walking.' His answer was a stone through the nearest official window, and he spent the rest of the night in a police cell.

Five telephone kiosks were attacked. Their small panes and convenient height from the ground for purposes of kicking, as well as the fact that they are public property, render them peculiarly liable to be damaged; men intending to break a window will sometimes walk quite long distances to find a kiosk for the purpose. A deaf psychopath of 52, who had a long criminal record, had never been charged with malicious damage before. On this occasion he had stolen a pair of socks to get back into the prison which he had only just left. He was let off with a small fine, and much to his disgust found himself still without a bed and several shillings the poorer. He tried sleeping in an empty bus, but the cold drove him back on to the streets. In the early dawn he came to rest beside a telephone kiosk, not far from the city centre and conveniently situated outside police headquarters. While he stood on the kerb, trying to summon up courage to embark on what was to him an entirely fresh type of offence, a policeman came along the opposite pavement, and stood there watching him. According to the prisoner (who may not have been telling the truth) the constable presently called out, ' Go on, I dare you! ' So he smashed one pane with his suitcase, and the friendly policeman took him inside.

Offices of the National Assistance Board had windows broken five times also. An official of the N.A.B. told me that it is not uncommon for a disappointed applicant for assistance to break a window before leaving—the only way he can get revenge on the Board, without committing a personal assault upon the official himself. One of these cases concerned an old arterio-sclerotic, who became exasperated by the questioning to which he was subjected in his search for assistance. He sat down, pulled off both his boots, and hurled each in turn through one of the N.A.B. windows.

The remaining cases in this series involved among other things the windows of two cars, a hut, a railway station, a café, and a public convenience. It is clear that window-smashing is almost always an urban offence, and ninety-two of the ninety-eight cases occurred in towns. It is also more common late at night, when intoxicated individuals steer an unsteady course for home, and those who have no homes become desperate. Moreover, dark and deserted streets may give a man courage to commit an offence which he would avoid if he thought himself observed.

Motivation

Each man was asked why he broke the window. Although many of the replies were rationalizations, and some deliberately misleading, they were not without interest. Twenty claimed that their motive was to get revenge. Nineteen wished to get arrested, usually to get a bed, but sometimes for medical treatment and similar benefits. An old vagrant aged 75 sustained a Colles fracture. He asked to see a doctor when he reached the reception centre, and in due course the fracture was reduced and his arm put up in plaster in the neighbouring hospital. He was told to come back in a week. As he said to me, ' How could a man go back in a week, if he was not allowed to stay in the centre until then? ' So next day he hitch-hiked to the next big town, expecting to find a centre there, but it had been closed. He had had many convictions in the past, though none for malicious damage; but he decided that he would get proper treatment for his fracture in prison, and proceeded to break one pane in a telephone kiosk with a brick.

Eleven men smashed windows because they were labouring under a grievance at the time, although they bore no grudge against the actual owner of the window. Ten said that they were drunk, and appeared to consider that this alone was cause enough. Nine stated that the offence was a form of protest against what they considered to be an unjustified arrest on another charge. Only two claimed that they were innocent, although two others said that they had broken the window by accident. Two blamed anxiety, one said that he was depressed. The remainder put forward an assortment of reasons, some vague and unconvincing, but only two had the courage to admit that they had not the slightest idea why they smashed the glass.

A variety of factors, some conscious and some unconscious, may lie behind any case of this type; one which seemed simple enough when first encountered might become bewilderingly complex on careful sifting. However, the following appear to be the main causes of breaking windows:

(1) *Accident.* This is the most common cause in ordinary, everyday life. It is possible that some individuals who appear before the courts on this charge had no intention of doing any damage at all. Of the two in this series who claimed that they were wrongly convicted, both said that they were trying to hit another man in a fight; but one had previously been convicted of a similar offence, the other was a psychopath, and both had been drinking heavily. In passing, it should be mentioned that there is a leading case (R. *v.* Pembliton) in which a man threw a stone at another in the street; the intended victim ducked, and the stone smashed a window. It was held on appeal that the man who threw the stone could not be convicted of malicious damage, because he was not acting ' maliciously ' in the legal sense of the term, so far as the window was concerned. If, on the other hand, a man breaks the wrong window (like the prisoner who smashed the tailor's window in mistake for that of the Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society) it will not excuse him.

(2) As a prelude to *stealing* articles on display in the window—*e.g.* a ' smash-and-grab ' raid. If the offence is interrupted in some way, and is not accompanied by such obvious preparations as a waiting car, etc., it may very well be mistaken for a silly piece of wanton damage. Two men in this series said that they broke the window in order to steal.

(3) *Revenge.* As already suggested, to break a man's window is a much safer way of paying him out than to punch him on the nose, for example. The victim is left with a cold draught, to be followed later by a glazier's bill; and he may remain in complete ignorance as to who has done the deed. The smash itself may be pleasurable, so that this form of revenge is often safe, usually certain, and always sweet.

(4) *To ' get under care '*, as one prisoner expressed it. The care may be short-term (a police station) or long-term (prison). Those who turned to smashing to provide themselves with lodgings were homeless and usually poor, and prison means a warm bed and good food for unfortunates such as these. Not a few vagrants seem to prefer prison to the reception centre or a hostel. It must be remembered that a prisoner has a definite status, with rights and privileges; he is a member of a stable community for the time being. He has access to a number of officials, who are bound to listen to what he has to say, and to try to assist him so far as they are able. Prison can mean relief from numerous anxieties. One regular window-breaker

said to me just prior to his release; ' See you again come the winter,' and, sure enough, back he came.

Quite a few ' regulars ' come in as winter draws on, and especially towards Christmas. Of course, some of these men get arrested by stealing small articles in shops or off washing-lines; only a minority break windows, and always the same ones. It is regrettable that valuable accommodation in overcrowded prisons is taken up by those who have come there because they choose to do so, and will go out encouraged rather than deterred by their stay.

(5) *To draw attention to a grievance*, often closely associated with revenge. Not only is there the immediate attention paid by the police and the court, but there is often the hope of publicity in the local press—even, once in a way, in the national press, if the story is good. The gentleman who arrives in Downing Street carrying a suitcase, from which he extracts a brick and proceeds to hurl it through the front window of Number Ten, is sure of a big public.

(6) *Despair*, whether arising from endogenous depression or from environmental causes. It may be associated with anxiety, and the sufferer gains transient relief by venting his feelings on the window; he also draws attention to his plight, though he is not seeking publicity like those in the previous group—rather, his act may be looked on as a distress signal for help. It is better to smash many windows than to commit suicide.

(7) *Frustration*, leading to aggression and destructiveness. Many of these men, for example, had failed to obtain admission to some building, such as a hostel, a reception centre, a police station, or a private house. There were other examples also. Two men, both slightly inebriated, went in broad daylight one hot day to steal lead from an empty mansion. They filled a sack with pieces of lead, but found it too heavy to carry further than the front lawn. Annoyed at this discovery, and apparently unwilling to abandon some of their loot in order to steal the rest, they slung the sack and its contents through a large sheet of glass in one of the downstairs rooms. A constable, probably attracted by the crash, found them dozing on the grass with the evidence of their crime close behind them. They were convicted of causing malicious damage to the window. Frustration entered into the aetiology of many cases in this series to some degree, quite apart from other operative factors.

(8) *Excitement*, whether due to mental illness or the effects of alcohol. Two schizophrenics, the imbecile, one borderline defective, one psychopath and the man who had been drinking methylated spirits, as well as five otherwise normal individuals who had been drinking to excess, all committed their offences in a state of excitement. A number of windows may be broken on one and the same occasion when the smasher is the victim of violent

excitement, and multiple breakings on one and the same occasion should be an indication for psychiatric investigation.

(9) *Symbolism.* This is a subject which might be pursued very far, but can only receive the briefest attention here. A regressive element is probably present in many of these cases, and the owner of the window (or even the window itself) may represent the parent-figure whom the breaker wishes to punish. In this connection it is interesting to observe how many broken windows occur in public buildings, especially those connected with Government Departments or the maintenance of law and order; may it not be that these are associated with the father-figure, and so an object for attack quite apart from conscious factors?

In other cases the breaking appears to have a sexual significance, and one man (not in the present series) told me that to break a window always produced in him sexual excitement.

(10) Other possible unconscious causes include the *desire for punishment.* Several of these men were oppressed with strong guilt-feelings, and appeared to gain considerable relief from arrest and punishment.

(11) Finally, there is the undoubted fact that breaking a sheet of glass is pleasurable in itself, a very primitive form of *satisfaction.* It affects all sorts and conditions of men, and history records that there was once a President of Trinity College, Oxford, who used to throw stones at the windows of Balliol ' with much satisfaction ' from his own garden. Small boys soon do the same to any derelict house, and not a few adults envy them in their freedom from inhibitions.

As already mentioned, a depressive element was suspect in many of the cases investigated, but it was impossible to tell how great a part (if any) it played in any particular case, with four exceptions.

Once having embarked upon this type of offence, some men appear in court on the same charge again and again. This tendency is not peculiar to malicious damage, of course, but is a general characteristic of recidivists. In reading the criminal records of psychopaths serving long sentences for various offences one often finds mention of past convictions for malicious damage, sometimes repeated at intervals over many years. Some wanderers are extraordinarily persistent in their attacks on plate-glass, while others prefer smaller targets. There are men who will smash a window instantaneously; if refused a drink, for example, after having more than enough liquor already, they will hurl the empty glass straight through the nearest window. Others think long and carefully before they act, and will even walk long distances before all the circumstances are to their liking.

Discussion

From the above observations it would appear that window-breakers fall into three major categories, viz. those who are seeking accommodation

and certain related advantages; those who repeatedly commit wanton damage under the influence of drink; and those who, drunk or sober, commit an isolated offence of this type because of mental disturbance or environmental pressure. The first group is particularly hard to reduce, as they appear to enjoy the very worst which the law can do to them—i.e. to send them to prison. They enjoy the amenities of prison life. Their sentences are usually short, so that they escape the monotony which imprisonment entails for so many; and as they are usually old or asthenic, they cannot be employed on anything but light work. The closure of the casual wards and the reduction in the number of the reception centres drove a number of vagrants into prison to begin with, but it is too early yet to decide whether vagrancy is capable of abolition; while it lasts there will always remain the temptation to take the short cut to find shelter.

For those who smash glass when drunk a fine is the obvious answer in the great majority of cases, and would be more effective still if it could be coupled with compensation for the damage done. In any case, it seems that glass-breaking is often a substitute for other and less desirable forms of violence, and it is far better to break another's window than to fracture his skull or commit suicide. If all glass was made unbreakable, glass-smashing would of necessity disappear, but some less acceptable form of activity would take its place. At one time it was not unknown for a man with a grievance to shoot at public personages; to break a window in Downing Street may be the modern equivalent. However, it seems only common sense to fit unbreakable glass in those windows which come in for an unfair amount of attention, even at a cost ten times higher than that of ordinary window glass—for such it is. At Kielder Camp, the Royal Navy's special unit for psychopaths and others in the last war, the windows of the sick bay were all constructed of unbreakable glass. Not only were violent patients prevented from knocking the windows out, but disgruntled inmates of the camp were unable to knock them in after dark. It was disconcerting for them when their stones bounced back, leaving the windows intact.

In those cases where the prisoner has not previously been convicted of malicious damage to property, and especially where he has no previous convictions of any kind, special care must be exercised from both medical and social angles to find out the underlying cause of the trouble and, wherever possible, to put it right. Hospital care for some cases, and reference to clinics for others, was indicated in several cases which have been mentioned above, and it is suggested that more psychiatric reports on individuals falling in this last category would be of value in preventing further offences.

CREATIVE RESTITUTION: ITS ROOTS IN PSYCHIATRY, RELIGION AND LAW[1]

By ALBERT EGLASH (Maryland)

Within the field of penology, one correctional technique to aid in the rehabilitation of criminal offenders is creative restitution (6, 8). This term, *restitution*, is found in such disciplines as psychoanalysis, religion and law, but with some differences in meaning. In this paper I should like to describe these various usages in order to show their relationship to creative restitution as a technique in rehabilitation.

Psychoanalysis: Pathological Restitution

In psychotic disorders, in which disintegration of the ego occurs, a patient experiences loss of self and of contact with others; schizophrenic withdrawal and depersonalization reflect this loss and may be referred to as 'primary' symptoms of a disorder. But other symptoms, delusions, and hallucinations, are restitutional, and are aimed at replacing the loss. Autistic (fantasy dominated) strivings may 'be directed outward, as for instance in the schizophrenic world-reformer who wants to remould society and is constantly active in the outside world, or in the little girl in whose fantasy a piece of wood is a child, or in those who animate objects or create a god out of an abstract concept or force' (24). As a phenomenon in schizophrenia, restitution is a cicatrizing process, often with such a low level of efficiency that it usually serves to perpetuate the illness. Most schizophrenic symptoms are probably restitutive.

This autistic restitutional behaviour may be interpreted in either one (or both) of two ways: (*a*) it is regenerative, an attempt to repair the damaged portion of the personality (37); or (*b*) it is an attempt to restore or to reconstruct a reality which has been lost (11).

A 4-year-old child was dismissed from nursery school as an isolate and a discipline problem. He had suffered the loss of his mother very early in life, and some of his symptoms reflected this sense of loss. Other symptoms were restitutional; in therapy, he clung first to the therapist's coat as a fetish, and later to animate objects (25).

An attractive young woman in psychoanalysis began to engage in compulsive stealing. She had suffered severe deprivation in early childhood, and felt that she

[1] I wish to express my appreciation for the help given by Dr. P. Miller (Michael Reese), Dr. J. Michaels (Boston Psychoanalytic Inst.), Professor W. Katz (U. Chicago Law School), Rabbi D. Schwarcz (La Crosse, Wis.) and Rabbi J. Sperka (State Prison of Southern Michigan).

had lost her femininity. The therapist interpreted her stealing as an unconscious attempt to restore this lost femininity (37).

This phenomenon of pathological, self-defeating restitution indicates that even a severely damaged ego attempts restitution. A therapist who encourages restitutional activity may be guiding his patient in a direction congruent with spontaneity, and thus arouse relatively little resistance. Guided restitution might be part of a clinical treatment programme even with non-criminal patients.

Facing the prospect of divorce, a 43-year-old man came for psychiatric treatment. He had publicly accused his wife of having relations with five prominent businessmen. Encouraged by the therapist, the patient and his wife went to each man, and the patient offered an apology (21, cf. 36).

Religion: Ritual and Spontaneous Restitution

A Yom Kippur prayer and fast, a Lenten sacrifice, or a penance imposed upon a contrite Catholic who wishes to atone exemplify ritual restitution (12, 32). We can distinguish two aspects of the process: (*a*) a voluntary decision to make restitution; and (*b*) a tradition-determined selection of a specflic act. In other forms of restitution, this dual aspect is not seen: in mandatory restitution, both aspects are coerced; in spontaneous restitution, both are free. Ritual is a common source of religious feeling (26). Its purpose is to atone for an offence and to effect reconciliation with God.

In New Orleans, parishioners objected to a Negro priest, and the church was closed for two years. When it was reopened with a white priest, the Archbishop ordered a spiritual symbol of reparation and thanksgiving, including three days of prayer.

Malev, a psychoanalyst on the staff of the Jewish Theological Seminary, has discussed similarities and differences between religious and pathological ritual:

A young woman suffering from extreme anxiety insisted to her therapist: 'I know what will make me free of these fears. If you only set me some tasks to carry out.' Many people have private rituals which resemble religious rituals in their strictness and urgency. One successful surgeon, for example, could not perform an operation unless it were in a fully equipped operating room of the hospital, with nurse and assistants. One cannot but be struck by the resemblance between this individual compulsion and the safeguards surrounding *Shechitah*. If certain conditions are fulfilled, the prohibition is removed against the spilling of blood, with all its unconscious implications, and the taking of life; and the procurement of food is made possible.

One man was very careful when walking along the street not to rub against any pane of glass, especially if the window contained female mannequins or clothing. How far removed is this avoidance from the ritual prohibition against contact with a menstruating woman?

Another man could not bring himself to fly unless immediately before each flight he took a haircut. His voluntary sacrifice of hair seemed to insure him, in his unconscious, against further loss of any part of his body. In similar vein, one wonders whether the ritual of *Pidyon Haben*, the redemption of the first-born, is not a substitution of money for the actual child himself (condensed from 19).

In addition to ritual restitution, religion has encouraged another type, spontaneous restitution. As with the ritual form, in spontaneous restitution the individual freely chooses to make restitution, but here he selects for himself the specific act (22). This type of restitution often follows a religious conversion experience. For example, in Alcoholics Anonymous, based upon ' a spiritual experience ', two of its Twelve Steps encourage making amends.

This aligning of justice and love is something which it is the peculiar task of Christian believers to promote, and in doing so they need to see beyond the secular conception of justice in its threefold form of distributive, commutative, and retributive justice. Distributive justice can never take us beyond the norm of reparation; commutative justice can provide only due compensation; retributive justice has no means of repairing damage save by punishment and expiation.

Justice has also a restorative element. Restorative justice alone can do what law as such can never do: it can heal the fundamental wound from which all mankind suffers and which turns the best human justice constantly into injustice, the wound of sin. Restorative justice, as it is revealed in the Bible, alone has positive power for overcoming sin (condensed from 29, cf. 31).

Religion also contributes the concept of ' a second mile ', the possibility of going beyond the requirements of law or conscience. This lends to restitution a creative aspect clearly distinguishing it from reparations.

Law: Mandatory Restitution

In mandatory restitution, the decision to participate in a restitutional programme is imposed upon an offender, and the specific restitutional step to be taken is also court-determined. In civil law and as a probationary requirement (3), especially in non-support cases, a court requires that an offender make amends and determines for him the form (usually money) and amount. In criminal law, mandatory restitution is found historically from Hammurabi's code (35) to a 1926 Swiss law requiring a murderer to indemnify a widow (34). Indemnity or reparative effort is commonly found in instances of juvenile vandalism or theft. It is also found in contemporary primitive cultures (2). Mandatory restitution calls attention (*a*) to the repayment motive, distinct from revenge and retribution motives, and (*b*) to the use of authority or coercion, rather than an offender's sincere desire to make amends.

Books on criminology usually omit any mention of restitution, or refer to it only in passing; the only extensive discussion is by Sutherland and

Cressey, who consider financial indemnity or reparations to have a potential not presently being exploited. In 1915 Healy recommended its use with juveniles (13). Mrs. Dockar-Drysdale has been making extensive use of it in England, and Judge Karl Holzschuh in Germany (4, 17). At a juvenile court level, mandatory restitution often takes a form other than financial, and may in fact be quite creative:

In La Crosse, Wis., a youth cut down a tree in a public park. On probation, he was encouraged to make amends. He consulted park authorities, spent a day removing the old stump, bought a sapling, and under expert supervision planted it.

In Germany, a young girl stole money from her employer and bought candy. She was sentenced to take candy each week to children in an orphanage.

Correctional Rehabilitation: Guided Restitution

In guided or creative restitution, an offender, under appropriate supervision, is helped to find a way to make amends to those he has hurt, making good the damage or harm he has caused, and going a second mile whenever possible, e.g. by going beyond simple repair, by offering restitution despite punishment, or by helping others like himself. This restitution is guided in the sense that the offender is compelled to participate in a restitutional programme and is encouraged to discuss with his family (14), with correctional authority, with the victim, and with other offenders, an appropriate form of restitution (16). It is creative in the sense that the offender participates in selecting a constructive act which has socially valuable consequences. Perhaps it is also creative in the sense of being rehabilitative.

I should like now to relate guided restitution to other forms. From the psychiatric concept of autistic restitution, we can borrow the concept of a spontaneous urge to make restitution (15, 28), and realize that a restitutional act, if freely chosen, is related to the individual's conscious and unconscious needs and conflicts (compare with free association). But where autistic restitution is self-defeating, guided restitution may be constructive and healing, since its direction is influenced by persons other than the disturbed individual.

From the religious concept of ritual restitution, we can borrow the distinction between the decision to make restitution and the selection of a specific act; one of these aspects may be coerced while the other is free. But where ritual restitution leaves the individual free to decide for himself if he will participate, while telling him the form the restitutional act must take, guided restitution reverses this: an offender is compelled to participate but is free to select the form. Where ritual restitution is oriented towards atoning for an offence and towards reconciliation with the Deity, guided restitution is oriented towards repairing damage and towards reconciliation with a victim.

From the religious concept of spontaneous restitution, we can borrow the concept of a second mile, and of an offender participating in selecting a restitutional act. But where spontaneous restitution leaves an individual with the responsibility of deciding for himself if he sincerely wishes to make amends, guided restitution insists that some amends be made. Where spontaneous restitution assumes that conscience or love may motivate a restitutional act, guided restitution hypothesizes that performing the act may strengthen conscience and the capacity to relate to others (33).

From law's mandatory restitution, we can borrow the idea of making constructive use of authority in compelling appropriate behaviour (30). But where mandatory restitution decides for an offender the form his restitution will take, usually financial, and places a limit upon the restitutional act, creative restitution encourages an offender to make this selection for himself, and encourages a second mile.

Guided restitution organizes these elements into a new '*gestalt*'. An offender's rôle is active and effortful; the effort is a constructive one, related to the offence (13, pp. 202–204; 18, p. 175) and to its consequences in a reparative manner, but going beyond simple repair or tit-for-tat. In its interpersonal relations, guided restitution encourages, between offender and supervising authority, co-operation (5, 27) ; between offender and victim, reconciliation (10; 36, p. 133); among offenders, mutual help (7, 9). Finally, it seems likely to me that guided restitution can be characterized as rehabilitative. Dr. James Bond, Chief Psychologist at Toledo (Ohio) State Hospital, has told me he uses it with juvenile delinquents, and finds that it 'helps a youngster go beyond his offence'.

Research has been done upon the use of punishment and reward in controlling behaviour (20), and upon a clinical treatment approach to crime and delinquency (1, 23). Guided restitution, as a rehabilitation technique rooted in more traditional forms, seems worthy of quantitative research by correctional social scientists.

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EXTRAVERSION-INTROVERSION AND NEUROTICISM IN FIRST OFFENDERS AND RECIDIVISTS[1]

By ALLEN A. BARTHOLOMEW (London)

The problem of causality in delinquency and criminality has exercised criminologists for a number of years. Earlier authorities espoused theories of unicausality whilst today a multifactorial approach is accepted by most workers (20). It is, however, considered legitimate to investigate various isolated personality variables and demonstrate the correlations that exist between them and criminological data without invoking, or accepting, concepts of causality.

Eysenck (6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11) has produced evidence that a number of valuable personality dimensions can be demonstrated by suitable statistical treatment of a battery of psychological test results. As far as this paper is concerned only two of these dimensions, ' Extraversion-Introversion ' (E-I) and ' Neuroticism-Normality ' (N-N), will be considered.

Franks (13) and Franks and Willett (14) proposed that there might be theoretical grounds for supposing the existence of two types (at least) of recidivist that relate to the E-I continuum: the extravert who conditions with difficulty and the introvert coming from a poor home and criminal milieu and for whom ' repeated prison sentences are merely a reinforcement of the undesirable society to whose mores they condition readily '. Franks (13) quotes Marcus (18) as demonstrating that of those recidivists that receive training (at H.M. Prison, Wakefield) those that do not do well tend to have an extraverted personality. It would seem from this that the true ' hard core ' recidivist might be considered as being the extravert. It is of interest that Ball (1) demonstrated that, using an objective measure of extraversion, a criminal population was introverted as opposed to extraverted in the proportion of three to one. It is, however, not clear from the paper whether or not the subjects were recidivist.

It was deemed worthwhile investigating a number of first offenders and comparing their responses on a questionnaire purporting to assess personality

[1] I have great pleasure in thanking the Prison Commissioners for permission to publish these results. However, all opinions expressed in the article are my own and do not necessarily reflect the official opinions and attitudes of the Commissioners or the Home Office.

in terms of the two dimensions, E-I and N-N, with the responses of a number of confirmed recidivists. The prediction made was that the recidivist population would distinguish from the first offenders by having a higher mean extraversion rating. Further, it was expected that the first-offender population would approximate to the normal as regards extraversion assessment (3). Again, it was anticipated that the recidivist and first-offender population would have a higher rating on the neuroticism scale than the normal population (19).

Method

Fifty consecutive first offenders and fifty consecutive recidivists (all male) who had been referred by the courts for a medico-psychological assessment were given a questionnaire, the Maudsley Personality Inventory (MPI). Care was taken to exclude from the series all those suffering from a psychotic illness, organic brain damage and mental deficiency.

The group of first offenders comprised those persons who had no police record of any indictable offence: it does not mean that the members of this group had never committed any offence before, such as minor road and traffic offences, etc. Similarly, it does not mean that the person did not have a finding of guilt recorded against him as a juvenile. The one thing the group had in common was that not one of them had ever been in a prison before. The recidivist group, on the other hand, had all been found guilty at least once in the past, and in the recent past. Further, everyone of them has served at least one prison sentence. The groups were not matched for age or intelligence as it has been demonstrated that these two variables play but little part in the questionnaire response (10, 15).

The questionnaire used, the MPI, has been well described regarding its construction, development and norms by Eysenck (10) and has been compared with a number of other personality inventories by Jensen (15). The temporal stability (test-retest reliability) has been investigated by Bartholomew and Marley (5). The questionnaire was presented to the subjects in the form of 80 questions set out on three sheets of paper, and each subject filled in the responses sitting with the writer. Of the 80 questions, 24 relate to the E-I and 24 relate to the N-N continuum. There are 18 ' Lie ' questions that were used in an arbitrary way in that, provided not more than 9 were answered in the direction of a lie, the total response was considered as reliable. The remaining 14 questions were not used in scoring the questionnaire and are to be considered as ' spares '. Before each subject began to complete the questionnaire a standard set of instructions was given him.

The scoring of the questionnaire was 1 for an answer in conformity with the key, $\frac{1}{2}$ for an answer demonstrating uncertainty (?) and 0 for an answer

not in conformity with the key. Using this scoring, normative values for the general population were investigated by the writer (4) using a sample of 200 males and 200 females. The values obtained were: The mean value on the E-I continuum was 11·26 (standard deviation ± 4·64) and on the N-N continuum 9·12 (standard deviation ± 5·16). There were no significant differences between the scores for the sexes. Eysenck (10), using a scoring of 2, 1 and 0 for the responses, produced values for a more sophisticated population of: Mean E-I = 24·89 (SD = 9·67); Mean N-N = 18·60 (SD = 11·18). Again no significant differences were noted between the sexes, and, as can be seen, these two sets of data match very closely and none of the differences between the means are statistically significant.

In an endeavour to demonstrate the reliability of the questionnaire scores in the two groups of offenders, particularly as it is apparent that a degree of selection was involved in the methodology, a group of 54 recidivists in other prisons who were serving sentences, and not on remand, were similarly tested on the MPI. This was done as part of another investigation to be reported at another time (4), but the questionnaire responses are presented here.

Results

The average age of the first offenders was 32·88 years with a range of 21–54, whilst for the recidivists the figures were 34·56 years with a range of 22–54. The populations were exclusively male as regards the 50 first offenders and 50 recidivists but the group of 54 recidivists serving sentences was mixed.

The first offenders, as has been stated, were persons without any police record of an indictable offence. The offences for which they were remanded comprised virtually every crime in the calendar with the exception of murder, manslaughter and political offences. The recidivists all had at least one previous and recent conviction. The mean number of offences committed by this group prior to the offence causing their remand was 9·72 (standard deviation ± 6·20) with a range of 2–28 (this does not include offences ' taken into consideration ', but represents previous convictions). The offences previously committed by this group, and those that had caused their remand, were as for the first offenders. Table 1 sets out in synoptic form the offences that brought both groups to the prison on remand.

Extraversion. The distribution of the extraversion scores for the first offenders is shown in Fig. 1, the mean being 10·71 (standard deviation ± 5·10). This is to be compared with the distribution of the scores for the recidivists that are shown in Fig. 2 where the mean is 12·90 (standard deviation ± 4·46). The difference between the means of 2·19 is significant; $t = 2{\cdot}264$; $p < 0{\cdot}05$.

TABLE 1

Showing the Offences Committed by the Recidivists and First Offenders Leading to their Remand in Prison

Offence	*First Offender*	*Recidivist*
Offences v. *Person*		
Indecent assault, exposure } Sexual	2	5
	3	3
Voyeurism }	1	
Assault causing actual bodily harm	5	2
Grievous bodily harm	2	
Attempted suicide	1	2
Neglect of children		1
Giving noxious thing to cause injury	1	
Offences v. *Property*		
Malicious damage	2	3
Larceny	13	15
False pretences	4	3
Receiving	2	
Taking and driving away	3	2
Breaking and entry	2	
Burglary	2	
Other Offences		
Being on enclosed space	3	
Wandering abroad		5
Suspect person		3
Breach probation		2
Unlawful possession of weapon		1
Possession of dangerous drugs	2	
Drunk and disorderly and insulting behaviour	2	3

It is apparent on inspection that there is no significant difference between the means of the general population and those of the first offenders and recidivists.

Neuroticism. The distribution of the neuroticism scores for first offenders is shown in Fig. 3, the means being 12·43 (standard deviation $\pm$ 5·91). This is to be compared with the distribution of the scores for recidivists shown in Fig. 4 where the mean is 15·69 (standard deviation $\pm$ 5·57). The difference between the means of 3·26 is significant; $t = 2{\cdot}807$; $p < 0{\cdot}01$. When the significance between the mean of the general population (using as a normative value 18·60 found by Eysenck) and recidivists is calculated $t = 7{\cdot}607$; $p < 0{\cdot}001$. Again, the difference between the mean of first offenders is also significant as compared with the general population; $t = 3{\cdot}700$; $p < 0{\cdot}001$.

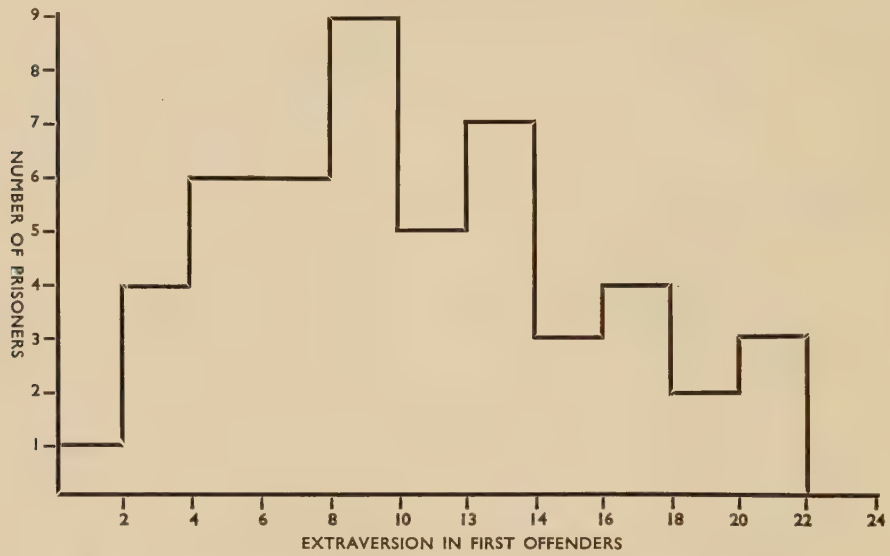

FIG. 1. Histogram of the extraversion-introversion rating of the first-offender population.

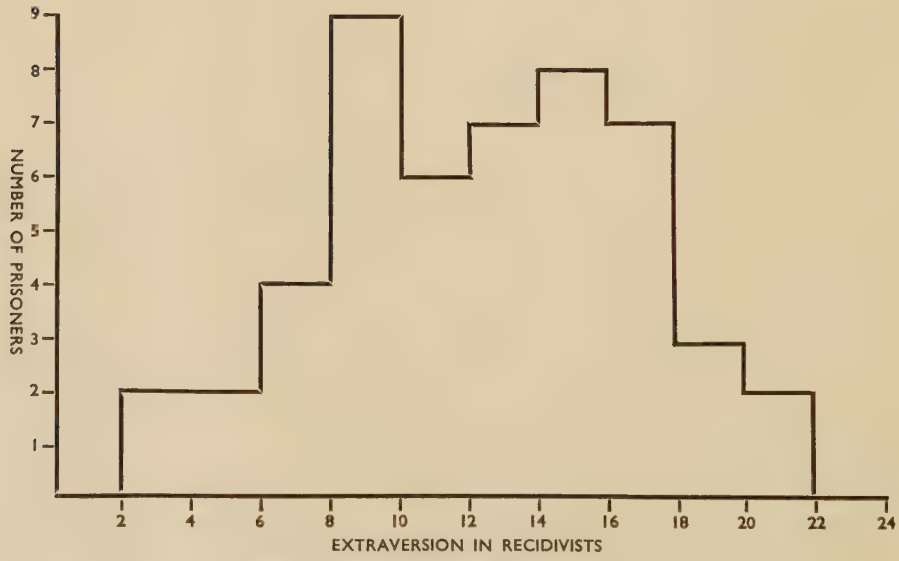

FIG. 2. Histogram of the extraversion-introversion rating of the recidivist population.

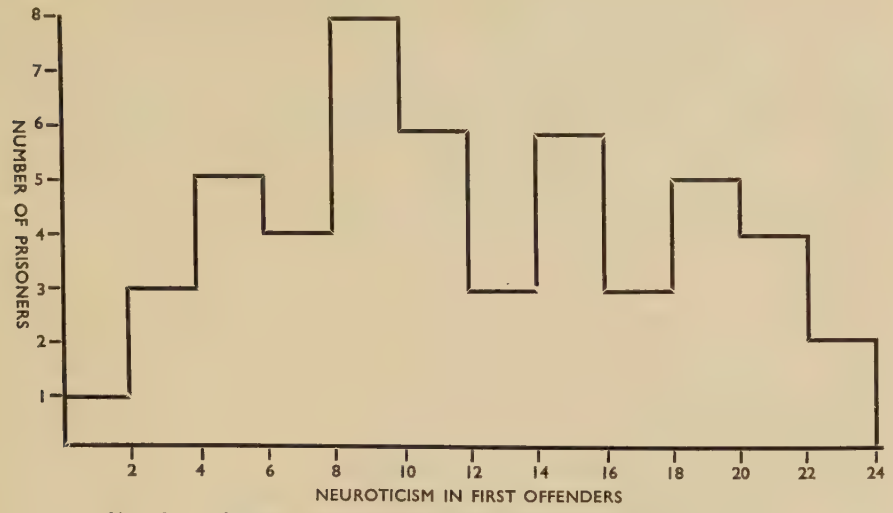

FIG. 3. Histogram of the neuroticism rating of the first-offender population.

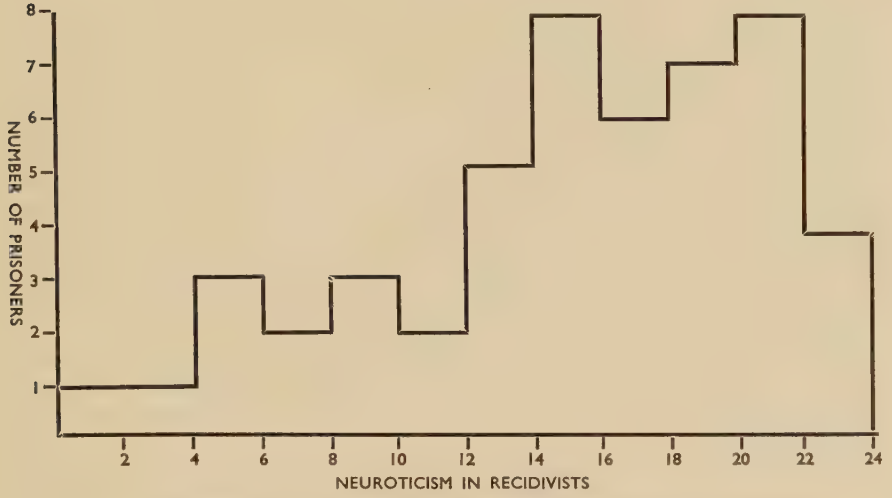

FIG. 4. Histogram of the neuroticism rating of the recidivist population.

A Comparison Group of 54 *Recidivists.* This group of recidivists from other prisons investigated under different conditions produced the following scores on the MPI: the mean E-I was 12·85 (standard deviation $\pm$ 4·80) and the mean N-N was 15·91 (standard deviation $\pm$ 4·57). From these figures it can be seen that these two different groups of recidivists score very similar results and so it can be presumed that the figures are reasonably reliable.

The Correlation Between the Two Scales. This was investigated as it has been shown that with small and selected samples the two personality dimensions are not orthogonal (15). In the series reported here the correlations in both recidivist and first offender populations were quite considerable and negative. In the first offender group the correlation ($r = -0{\cdot}429$) was greater than in the recidivist group ($r = -0{\cdot}236$). In the comparison group of 54 recidivists a similar figure was obtained ($r = -0{\cdot}375$).

Discussion

It must first be noted that this work is by no means ideal from the methodological point of view. The two groups were selected in so far as they were sent by the courts for medico-psychological reports. However, the recidivist group scored almost exactly the same on the questionnaire as another quite distinct group of similar persons collected for another study, so that it is likely that the selection factor does not affect the results to any great extent. If this be accepted, then it is probable that the first offender group can be considered as representative of the larger group.

A factor of more importance when evaluating such results is that a person in prison, even though only on remand, is in an artificial environment and to some extent manifesting, in a large number of cases, worry, anxiety and depression. It is therefore unlikely that a subject could answer any given question about himself without some reference to his immediate predicament. For example: the question ' Do you ever experience periods of loneliness? ' is likely to be answered by a man in a cell (or having just left his cell) awaiting trial as ' Yes '. This would be recorded as an increment on the N-N continuum. A similar example could be given that is certain to result in a reduction in the E-I score. Of the two groups it is probable that the first offender is the prisoner to be most affected, and this group as a result tend to underscore on an assessment of extraversion and overscore for neuroticism. If this be so then the differences that are being looked for will tend to be exaggerated.

To consider the scores on the N-N dimension. It is apparent that the recidivist groups conform with other findings (19) in having a high neuroticism score. Further, Field (personal communication) finds, using the same questionnaire, a neuroticism score for recidivists greater than that for the normal population. This is, perhaps, not surprising as an untreated neurotic, or neurotically disposed person, who copes with his ' conflict ' by acting out, is hardly to be expected to cease his anti-social activity following nothing more therapeutic than ' 3 or 6 months ' or more. Thus it might be predicted that a considerable proportion of the recidivist population would have a high score on the N-N dimension. A number of these prisoners are undoubtedly

diagnosed as psychopaths but might more appropriately be termed neurotics with deviant social behaviour, or as symptomatic psychopaths (16), sociopaths of neurotic type (17) or neurotic psychopaths (21). Unfortunately, it is not clear from the paper by Franks (13) whether he would expect to find his introverted recidivist with a high loading on the N-N dimension or not. From his general argument it would seem not, and he is content to accept recidivism in terms of pure introversion (or extraversion) and the alleged correlate, ease or difficulty of conditioning. In this study the majority of those whose score allowed them to be operationally termed introverts (that is beyond one standard deviation from the mean) had a high score on the N-N axis. There were 12 ' introverted recidivists ' of whom 8 had a neuroticism score higher than one standard deviation from the mean of the general population. In the case of ' ambiverted recidivists ' (those falling within one standard deviation of the mean of the general population) 20 out of 33 had neuroticism scores beyond one standard deviation of the mean whilst the ' extraverted recidivists ' all had equally high neuroticism loadings. When one considers the first offenders the findings are that 3 out of 9 introverts had a high neuroticism score, 6 out of 27 ambiverts and 10 out of 14 extraverts had a high neuroticism loading.

When the dimension of extraversion-introversion is considered it is clear that recidivists are significantly more extraverted than first offenders. On the other hand, there is no significant difference between the recidivist and the normal population or between the first offender and the normal population. When it is appreciated, as has already been alluded to, that the first offender may well be slightly underscoring on the E-I axis, as compared to the recidivist and the normal control, then it is likely that there is no significant difference to be noted between the various populations. If this were so then, on the face of it, the theory put forward relating a high extraversion loading with difficulty of conditioning, that in turn produces difficulty in the process of socialization, and may well lead to criminality and recidivism (2, 9, 13, 14), would not be tenable on the facts so far produced. However, it must be recognized that the trend in the predicted direction is present in nearly all results obtained, in this present study as well as in other work by the author (4) and by Field (private communication). It would seem probable that this present type of investigation is too crude to demonstrate what in fact may be present—a higher loading on the E-I continuum in recidivists as a group or, from a more dynamic point of view, a tendency to a lower acquisition of conditioned responses.

If the theory be accepted that one quite large class of recidivist is a true psychopath—the anethopath (16), non-neurotic sociopath (17) or the phallic psychopath (21)—and that this type acquires and retains conditioned

responses with difficulty and further tends to score highly on tests measuring extraversion, then a percentage of the recidivist population will be of this type: a rather larger percentage than will be found in the first offender or normal group. This in fact probably occurs but does not produce a statistically significant result. There are two reasons for this. Firstly, the normal and first-offender group will contain a number of persons who will be extraverted and might well be described as psychopathic personalities; if in sufficient numbers they will of necessity reduce the difference between these groups and the recidivist from possible significance to insignificance. This possibility is, of course, much more likely to operate where the investigation is conducted using small samples. Secondly, that the difference is so small can be explained by the fact that the psychopath (operationally defined as having a high E-I loading among other things) accounts for only about 20–25 per cent. of a recidivist population (4). Thus if the mean E-I score of the general population is, let us say, 12, and the mean score for the psychopath is 18 (50 per cent. more), then in a sample of 100 recidivists with 25 psychopaths the overall mean will be 13·50. In fact the figure is likely to be somewhat smaller, but even a difference of 1·5 between the means is unlikely to be significant, bearing in mind the size of the standard deviations that are met with in this type of work.

Another problem of a different order has to be considered in evaluating these results. Recently Eysenck (12) has stated that, contrary to his earlier belief, it may be that the two personality axes are not truly orthogonal. More and more workers are finding a considerable negative correlation between the two dimensions and Eysenck has put forward a number of possible reasons to explain the fact that ' clearly, one of the regression lines is non-linear, and it is this failure of linearity which may in part be responsible for the failure of the hysterics to have more extraverted scores.' By the same token it may be due to the fact that the neuroticism loading was so high in the recidivists that they failed to record rather higher scores on the extraversion axis.

It is then submitted that whilst the findings presented here do not in fact support a theory that links extraversion (with its correlates of difficulty in conditioning) with socialization processes as assessed by criminal behaviour they are, nevertheless, reasons for supposing that before the theory can be utterly discarded a more sophisticated methodological approach will be required.

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RESEARCH AND METHODOLOGY

(*Continued from Vol. X*, p. 46)

CURRENT RESEARCH. LXVI. AREA CRIME SURVEY.

(1) *Name of University Department, Hospital or other Institution or private person supplying the information:* Glasgow University: Department of Citizenship in association with Department of Geography.

(2) *Subject of Research:* A study of the distribution of crime in the Glasgow area as indicated by residence of criminals; leading to a study of selected high-density areas.

(3) *Under whose auspices is the research being carried out?* Department of Citizenship, Glasgow University, with the help of a grant from the Scottish Home Department. *Research workers:* Part-time workers under the direction of Mr. J. A. Mack.

(4) *Commenced:* January 1959. *Completion expected:* 1960.

(5) *Publication:* No results published.

CURRENT RESEARCH. LXVII. CRIME PREVENTION.

(1) Glasgow University: Department of Citizenship.

(2) Non-court methods of dealing with petty juvenile offenders in a West of Scotland area.

(3) Department of Citizenship, Glasgow University, with the help of a grant from the Scottish Home Department. *Research worker:* Miss M. Ritchie, under the direction of Mr. J. A. Mack.

(4) *Commenced:* June 1959. *Completion expected:* 1960.

(5) No results published.

CURRENT RESEARCH. LXVIII. AREA STUDY—KNOWN CRIMINALS.

(1) Glasgow University: Department of Citizenship.

(2) Known criminals resident in a West of Scotland area.

(3) Department of Citizenship, Glasgow University, with the help of a grant from the Scottish Home Department. *Research worker:* Miss M. Ritchie, under the direction of Mr. J. A. Mack.

(4) *Commenced:* June 1959. *Completion expected:* 1961.

(5) No results published.

SOCIAL CLASS BACKGROUND OF YOUNG OFFENDERS FROM LONDON

Children brought before the Juvenile Courts in London might be expected to come disproportionately from the lower social classes. Such an expectation is strengthened, in London, by a recent study from Mannheim, Spencer and Lynch.[1] Further support comes from the Croydon study of Terence Morris.[2] Hilda Lewis notes an excess from social class V in her sample of 500 deprived children.[3] These studies drew their samples before 1952, and all used the Registrar-General's definition of social class. In an earlier study Sir Cyril Burt used an index of

[1] MANNHEIM, H., SPENCER, J., and LYNCH, G. 'Magisterial Policy in the London Juvenile Courts', *Brit. J. Delinq.*, VIII, 1 & 2, July & October 1957.

[2] MORRIS, T. 'The Criminal Area', Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1957.

[3] LEWIS, HILDA. 'Deprived Children', Oxford University Press, London, 1954.

poverty, and found that 66 per cent. of his delinquents came from poor families, as opposed to 30 per cent. poor families in London generally.[4]

We decided to test this apparent association between delinquency and low social class.

Material and Methods. The sample we studied consisted of 381 case records from three sources, mainly from 1957.[5]

100 cases came from a London Remand Home for Boys.
72 cases came from an L.C.C. Approved School for Boys.
209 cases came from seven London Juvenile Courts.[6]

The social-class background of each case we derived from the head of the household concerned.[7]

As a yardstick against which the social-class distribution of our sample could be measured, we used Table C2 (Appendix C) of the Registrar-General's 1 per cent. sample of the 1951 Census, which classified the occupations of heads of households in Great Britain, excluding persons returned as ' out of work ' or ' retired '.

Results. All 381 cases in our study were allotted to one of the five social classes, except 34 (8·9 per cent.) recorded as unallocated [8] (U).

TABLE 1

Social class	*All 381 cases Percentage in each class*	*Cases*	*Per cent.*
I		2	0·5
II		21	5·5
III		193	50·6
IV		58	15·2
V		73	19·7
U		34	8·9
		381	100·4

This distribution may be compared with the Registrar-General's classification by heads of households in Great Britain in 1951.

We find that the Registrar-General has higher percentages in social-class I, II and U (unallocated): lower in IV and V.

[4] BURT, SIR CYRIL, ' The Young Delinquent ', University of London Press, 4th Edition, London, 1944.

[5] One of us (V.R.N.) found some of his consecutive cases from the Approved School gave non-London addresses, so he took consecutive cases backward as far as June 1956. Some of the sample (every 13th case) from the Remand Home gave scanty basic details, so he took every 13th case backward as far as June 1956.

[6] The first 29–30 cases in 1957 from each of seven London Juvenile Courts, covering all the Metropolitan Boroughs.

[7] One of us (W.R.L.) checked each allocation made by a worker experienced in the Registrar-General's tables, and reached agreement with a second experienced worker.

[8] Cases recorded as unallocated in our sample were: (i) children from institutions; (ii) children whose parents were recorded as ' out of work ' or ' retired ' (as in the Registrar-General's sample; and (iii) those few children whose records were inadequate in respect of occupation of the head of their household.

TABLE 2

Social class	1 *per cent. sample in* 14,481,500 *Percentage in each class*	*Represented in millions* *Cases*	*Per cent.*
I		0·4	2·8
II		2·3	15·6
III		6·1	42·2
IV		2·0	14·0
V		1·5	10·5
U		2·1	14·9
		14·4	100·0

We divided our cases according to their origin—100 from the Remand Home, 72 from the Approved School, and 209 from the Courts.

TABLE 3

Social Class	*Remand Home percentage in each class*	*Cases*	*Cases cent.*
I		2	2·0
II		6	6·0
III		58	58·0
IV		11	11·0
V		19	19·0
U		4	4·0
		100	100·0

TABLE 4

Social Class	*Approved School percentage in each class (giving London addresses* [9]*)*	*Cases*	*Per cent.*
I		0	0·0
II		5	6·9
III		31	43·1
IV		14	19·4
V		13	18·1
U		9	12·5
		72	100·0

[9] Cases from the Approved School giving non-London addresses, 51 in all, were allocated as follows: I = 0·0 per cent., II = 3·9 per cent., III = 51·0 per cent., IV = 9·8 per cent., V = 27·5 per cent. and U = 7·8 per cent.

TABLE 5

Social Class	*Juvenile Courts percentage in each class*	*Cases*	*Per cent.*
I		0	0·0
II		10	4·8
III		104	49·8
IV		33	15·8
V		41	19·6
U		21	10·0
		209	100·0

(The second part of each block refers to females)[10]:

Combining classes VI + V + U we have the following percentages: Remand Home 34 per cent., Approved School 50 per cent., and Courts 45·4 per cent. The corresponding figure from the Registrar-General comes near the middle: 39·4 per cent.[11]

Discussion. In our sample the proportion coming from the lower and the unallocated social classes (IV + V + U) can be compared with that from the households in Great Britain—43·4 per cent. as against 39·4 per cent.

TABLE 6

Social Class	*Percentage in each class*	*Cases*	*Per cent.*
I & II		4	3·1
		0	0·0
III		63	48·8
		16	20·2
IV		24	18·6
		19	24·1
V (+U)		38	29·5
		44	55·7
	Our total	129	100·0
	Morris's total	79	100·0

Morris included most of his unallocated cases under social class V.
Our sample ⊏ ; Morris's sample ▬.

[10] The 43 female court cases were allocated: I = 0·0 per cent., II = 4·7 per cent., III = 39·5 per cent., IV = 16·3 per cent., V = 17·6 per cent. and U = 20·9 per cent. As many of these girls were brought as being in need of care or protection, in moral danger or as beyond control, the high percentage unallocated is not surprising.

[11] The figure from the Registrar-General can be found in Housing Report, Census 1951 (England and Wales). H.M.S.O., London, 1956.

Morris's sample yields the corresponding figure 79·8 per cent.

His sample differs for time (1952), place (Croydon), and selection (all juvenile offenders placed on probation, under supervision, or committed to Approved Schools by the courts). If we take all our court cases similarly dealt with, we can make a more direct comparison.

Mannheim's sample also differs for time (1952), but place is very similar (seven of our courts correspond); his selection differs by drawing only male larcenists over 14 and under 17, 50 from each court).

We can make a more direct comparison selecting our male larcenists of the same age group.

TABLE 7

Social Class	*Percentage in each class*	*Cases*	*Per cent.*
I & II		1	3·3
		52	13·0
III		23	76·7
IV		136	34·1
V (+U)		6	20·0
		212	53·0
	Our total	30	100·0
	Mannheim's total	400	100·1

Our sample ⊏; Mannheim's ▬.

Comparing Mannheim's V with our V + U, we have 20 per cent., he has 53 per cent.

Our sample of 30 cases is very small, but figures for the whole sample (28 per cent.) and all larcenists in the sample (28 per cent.) correspond.

Inferences. Although Morris's sample was drawn from different sources from Mannheim's, the distributions of social classes in each of these studies resemble each other more closely than either resemble the distribution in our study. All three studies use figures from the 1951 Census as a basis for comparison, as representing the population from which each sample was drawn.

It is possible that this population has changed between 1952 and 1957, but the relative constancy of social class distribution in previous consecutive Census figures makes this unlikely.

Primary selection of cases in each study has been made as uniform as possible under ' Discussion '. There remains the possibility of a change in policy on the part of the referring agencies (police, Children's Department), whereby children brought to court in 1957 differ from those presented in 1952.

If we regard this as unlikely, we argue that, in London between 1952 and 1957, there has been a change in the social class distribution of young offenders.

Summary. In London between 1952 and 1957, we find the association between delinquency and low social class becomes much less apparent.

We base our findings on 381 cases from three sources (London Remand Home, L.C.C. Approved School, and seven London Juvenile Courts).

Acknowledgments. We wish to thank Dr. Peter Scott of the Maudsley Hospital, who suggested and supervised the study; and Dr. Lilli Stein with Miss M. E. Crane of the Institute of Psychiatry, University of London, for their help with statistical matters; Mr. L. G. Banwell, Chief Clerk to the Metropolitan Juvenile Courts, for permission to use records at Bow Street; and Mrs. M. Perkins, who undertook the original arduous allocation of social class for the sample.

W. R. Little.
V. R. Ntsekhe.

NOTES AND CRITICISMS

The Street Offences Act

The Street Offences Act, 1959, is now law, with its main purpose of clearing prostitutes from the streets. Vigilant lobbying and protests by numerous women's groups have not availed. It is now an offence for a common prostitute to loiter in a street or public place for the purpose of prostitution. A constable may arrest without warrant anyone he finds in a street or public place and suspects with reasonable cause to be committing the offence. For the purpose of the Act, ' street ' includes any bridge, road, lane, footway, subway, square, court, alley or passage, whether a thoroughfare or not. Doorways and entrances of premises abutting on a street, and any grounds adjoining are included and held to form part of the street.

How can a constable be said to ' suspect with reasonable cause ' ? In London, Scotland Yard has prepared a list of known prostitutes. Instructions to police have been given to caution a first time and invite the woman to call at a police station, where women police officers will advise her, and can put her into touch with a helpful welfare organization. If such help is ignored and a constable apprehends her loitering or soliciting for a second time she will again be cautioned, and the procedure already described will be repeated. On the third occasion, she may be arrested.

Where a woman is cautioned by a constable that if she persists in her conduct she may be charged, the Act gives a modicum of protection to an innocent woman. She may within fourteen days apply to a magistrate's court for an order directing that no entry is to be made in respect of that caution in any police record, and that such entry already made is to be expunged. But if a woman is waiting in the streets for a legitimate purpose and is cautioned, and does not apply to the magistrates, the record of that caution remains. The application to the magistrates, unless the woman desires that the proceedings be conducted in public, will be determined in camera.

For the offence of loitering or soliciting, the maximum penalty is graded. For the first offence it is £10 fine; for a second offence it rises to £25; for a third or subsequent offence, the penalty is £25 or imprisonment for a period not exceeding three months, or both.

It is too early yet to do more than speculate upon the likely effect of the Act upon the habits and mores of prostitutes. ' What the eye does not see . . .' appears to be the motto of those who support the Act, and hope to keep young

men good by driving girls from their usual beats. But the oldest profession has not acquired that description without earning it throughout the ages. New recruits are not likely to be deterred from joining, in spite of well-meaning talks by policewomen. A chapter of legislation is closed, but the Statute Book will yet have a sequel written in its pages.

JEAN GRAHAM HALL.

THE SHOTTON HALL EXPERIMENT

Closely resembling the average population of the approved school in intelligence, age range and social class are the 35 boys and adolescents at F. G. Lennhoff's Shotton Hall School, founded in 1949 for the psychological treatment, education and vocational and social training of delinquent and maladjusted boys. Within a complex and integrated democratic social system, the school combines ' formal ' and ' informal ' psychotherapy, shared responsibility, schooling and a wide range of practical activities. At the end of 1954 the I.Q.s at admission ranged from 90 to about 140. The mean was slightly over 110; the S.D. was 13·9. Since then the lower I.Q. group has diminished, and new arrivals have had above average I.Q.s, so that, in accord with the policy to accept only children with an above average intelligence, the mean I.Q. will gradually rise and the S.D. decline. Ages at admission are between 11 and 15, and the average age is about 13.

Pupils are referred to the school by the child guidance clinics, L.E.A.s, hospitals, juvenile courts and children's departments of local authorities, and include those who are primarily neurotic and those who (*prima facie*) are delinquent and amenable to social training. All the pupils have had difficulty in creating relationships; are frequently unpredictable and unreliable; are hostile to and suspicious of adults; feel insecure and ' inferior ' and crave for affection and trust which (until they begin to improve) they are pathetically unable to accept. At admission about one half are enuretics and about one in ten is also a soiler. Most are from homes that are materially inadequate as they are emotionally unsatisfactory, and nearly all are from working class families. Boys stay for varying periods, the most common being two years; the school helps boys to find jobs and homes after leaving and keeps in close contact with those who want such friendship. Full after-histories are being compiled, but the short life of the school makes a thorough survey and analysis impossible.

Every community for residential treatment has its own particular approach to treatment. At Shotton Hall the emphasis is upon practical activity, which is the focus for informal psychotherapy. The school farm provides fruit and vegetables, milk, eggs and poultry, and surpluses of milk are sold in the district. There is an elaborate building programme which has so far included two classrooms, a workshop, the dairy, the ' club room ', a pottery studio and other smaller sheds and huts. A part of normal day to day routine is the repair, maintenance and decoration of the premises. Some of the school furniture was made by the boys as a part of their handiwork, and much of the simpler domestic work is shared by the boys and the trained housemothers.

A prerequisite of residential treatment is an informal, friendly and familiar atmosphere in which a child feels as free to approach an adult as he would an

understanding parent, and in which he can accept adult authority with the minimum of resentment or rebellion. The boy must come gradually to sense that the community accepts him despite his shortcomings and difficulties, and that he ' belongs ' to it. He must be free to express his conflicts and aggression, and eventually should realize that in the community there are many fields in which to experiment with friendship and self-reliance without suffering failure from the mortification of guilt and inadequacy. The speed with which he gains this self-reliance depends upon the ease or difficulty with which he resolves his unconscious guilt, anxiety and conflict and comes to control and canalize them. Given these prerequisites and an understanding staff, the need for a formal system of discipline can be almost entirely left to a children's court or committee, and adult-imposed discipline is accordingly reduced to a minimum which may be considerably less than that conventionally thought necessary.

The day at Shotton Hall is a full and busy one, though opportunities for escape and retreat are not withheld where they are necessary for a boy. The fullness of the day is particularly noticed by boys newly coming from urban homes whose worlds are confined within limits of school, T.V., the pictures, a little reading and playing in the park. Their families are either rigidly over-organized, or more commonly have no settled routine but lurch from one muddled crisis to another. Some new boys are unused to, and confused by, a wealth of activity; others want to do nothing because they have been forced to do too much at home or at an institution. A neurotically insecure boy often finds it difficult to decide what he wants to do and spends his time lamenting that ' there's nothing to do ', when his emotional problems so preoccupy him that he is literally incapable of choice, and has to learn how to choose. In almost all cases, the boy is most familiar with the authoritarian approach, so that the prior need is to lead him to trust, to accept adult authority and to co-operate, without making the assumption that the adult's motives are governed by animus. This aspect of therapy is based upon personal relationships with the boy, to which the many activities shared by adults and pupils and the opportunity to work on equal terms contribute indirectly but significantly.

The demands that may be placed upon a child vary with his emotional state at the time; on both his general progress and his temporary ' ups and downs '. There can be no mechanical allotting of responsibility and duties. The social framework must therefore be flexible and tough to withstand the shocks of the individual child's moods and enthusiasms, and stable to provide a pattern of life to support and give security to an insecure child. The adult must have insight sufficiently deep to understand when not to press a child who is reluctant to carry out a social demand; when it is better policy to try to persuade the boy; when to be firm and insistent so that the boy is compelled to face a reality situation; when to suggest that one of the boy's friends could usefully and tactfully approach him. If there is a complex social network of duties and activities the need to ensure the smooth working of the system can become a compelling force that it is no light matter to resist. It is essential therefore never to overlook the emotional need of a boy to retire or retreat, and indeed there are always boys (as there are adults), reserved by temperament, who find brisk social life uncongenial and too much social pressure unbearable. The adult has sometimes to balance the rival demands of the group and the individual, not without careful consideration of the priority he must

give in each case to the rival claimants. Most frequently the conflict arises when, although it would be therapeutically valuable for a boy to exploit his reluctance to meet a social demand and to resist society, his failure to do a duty would disrupt or disorganize the social group. George announced one morning: 'I don't want to milk the cows today. Why should I?' This situation does not affect George alone, because if the cows are not milked the school will have no milk and the cows will be uncomfortable and even in danger. Shall George be compelled or cajoled to milk cows? Shall an adult with whom he has good relationship try to restore him to a better frame of mind? Shall the situation be glossed over and another boy be asked to do the job? Would it be good for George if the children were to express their disapproval (through the Children's Committee) at being let down, or should a disciplinary situation be avoided? No formula can be propounded to meet this and all similar problems; the adult must use his judgment, intuition and experience, and in any event would be unwise to appear to waver indecisively and to let the situation develop beyond an inconvenient domestic incident, or to treat the matter as purely disciplinary without careful consideration.

There is no lack of jobs to be done at the school, and the Principal and his wife and interested boys publish a list of jobs which is changed at least every week. The list is designed to give each boy a job that suits his temperament and stage of development, and gives him what he wants to do. The housemothers supervise and actively help with jobs, so that a child who needs adult attention and encouragement can have it unobtrusively and indirectly. The standards of care and conscientiousness vary from boy to boy. At one stage a boy will be unable to stick to any but the simplest job, but gradually as he becomes more stable he will be able to tolerate greater demands. Allan can only manage to trot about the grounds to collect the paper and rubbish to make into a bonfire, or to rig a target at which to shy old bottles or tins. Bill can be relied upon to feed the poultry regularly, Charlie to milk the cows and David to help lay the foundations for the new classroom. But however simple the job may be it must give the boy a chance to enjoy a sense of achievement, which will gradually increase his confidence. There are more immediately personal considerations: Eric may be quite unable to work except by himself, while Frank would be desperately lonely and miserable without a friend for company to share his job. There must always be jobs to satisfy aggressive boys, one of whom was overjoyed to smash the old lavatory pans, and all of whom are satisfied by such jobs as chopping logs, rooting up bushes, tearing out weeds, pulling down plaster or brickwork. Yet other boys prefer jobs to which they can apply themselves automatically while they daydream.

Although great importance is attached to the individual's practical contribution to the community at Shotton, a new and younger boy is not forced into the time table at once. He will be allowed to wander round the house getting his bearings, as it were. Perhaps he will stop and help an older boy, then leave him and pass on to something else. He may not even be expected to go into school just at first. Gradually he will be drawn into the life of the community. It is fully realized that the boys have need at times to choose their own occupations or to be relieved of demands upon them made by their fellows. Ample time for this is given after school and on Saturday and Sunday afternoons. At these times they are free, within reason, to do what they choose. One boy elects to cook his tea over a camp fire; a group will get together for a game of cricket; another boy will go into the

woods with a book and letter pad; someone else will just want to sunbathe and another two or three will go to the baths for a swim. When a group decide to do something together the most mature will take charge. This is in itself a further acknowledgement of the boy's responsibility to his fellows.

Prima facie, the attention the school pays to running repairs and decoration to the premises is not a promising topic for psychological discussion. At Shotton, despite the considerable destruction to be expected of a group of maladjusted boys, the premises do not look shabby or dilapidated: windows are broken by a carelessly thrown ball, paintwork is kicked or scraped, plaster is chipped, brick and cement are picked by bits of metal, and most of this is done by Mr. Nobody. To rely upon conventional disciplinary methods to lessen the damage, once the culprit has been discovered, would be negative and of no help to individual psychotherapy. Instead a tradition has developed that it is a normal part of routine to make damage good as soon as it is noticed, and the boys who have been at the school a short while begin to feel possessive about the premises and put the damage to rights without any direct steps having to be taken. This is due to the intimate identification of most boys with the community, and to the example of the adults. After they have damaged property most boys feel guilty (even though they may release tension and satisfy aggressive impulses whilst, and immediately after, committing the damage), and do not like to be reminded continually, by seeing its results, of the aggression that they are struggling to overcome. Most boys, too, reach a stage at which they positively resent dirt, destruction and muddle, their need for them having been satisfied; but this stage cannot be forced upon a child and the need to destroy, to satisfy aggression and to be dirty and untidy is a commonplace in the early stages of maladjustment and may (in certain cases) even have to be encouraged. The school has, therefore, a large wood with a stream and thick undergrowth reserved for wild games and aggressive, rough and destructive play, and there is a room in the house tacitly set aside as a ' ragging-room '.

It has been suggested that a major part of the school's informal psychotherapy depends on the work of the boys in the farm with animals. In addition to the emotional value of that work a boy can observe how it is possible to plan for the future and to act in a businesslike and realistic manner. Boys discuss and know about the financial aspects of the management of the farm, accompany the Principal to the solicitors, visit auctions, study catalogues, work out prices and quantities, and probably for the first time in their lives are taken into the confidence of an adult and trusted. The effect of this upon a boy's confidence is incalculable; he is being taken for granted by an understanding parent.

The basic importance of caring for animals on the farm is that it provides a boy with unconscious rehearsals of positive relationships with his fellows. But dangers do exist, and it is necessary to give an aggressive or unreliable boy a job which, though it brings him into contact with animals, will not give him too many opportunities or temptations to harm them. Most animals can run off or take care of themselves if teased and it may be dramatically useful if a boy is hit back in circumstances that he cannot interpret as a clash of personalities. In practice direct and open cruelty is rare, and harm or unkindness is less usual than an indefinite verbally expressed ambivalence. Fred, aged 13, was extremely aggressive, rejected by his parents and brought up in an institution of the old-fashioned repressive kind from the age of 6. He was desperately anxious to give love as he was unable to

accept it. After he had been at the school a short while, he was moved to tears by a calf's nuzzling him and sucking his fingers. He became devoted to the calves, though his relationships with adults remained hostile and suspicious. He spoke to the calves and helped an elder boy conscientiously to care for them and the cows, but was observed (unknown to him) to be alternately affectionate and hostile to the cows. One day when milking he was seen hitting a cow for not giving him enough milk. The cow impatiently kicked him when he hit her, and, surprisingly, his response was not his usual outburst of temper. His mood changed sharply: ' The naughty thing. Tomorrow you'll make it up for me. I know you will '.

The boys who take most interest in a baby animal suckling its mother are those who have missed mother-love. Often their interest is surreptitious; they simulate a forced air of indifference and look ashamed or angry if their interest is discovered. Yet when the mother pig could not suckle her piglets, there were more volunteers for the very tedious job of feeding them with a drip-feeder than was needed, and boys volunteered who had before shown no interest in animals. Many boys want to care for animals to satisfy a frustrated impulse to give and receive affection; they are afraid to commit themselves to a friendship with either adults or their fellows. The socially esteemed activity of the farm gives them a justification for their interest—an interest more realistic and less maudlin than an ephemeral passion for a pet. Many boys who need an emotional relationship with an adult are unable to make one: they have never experienced one and would not understand how to cope with it. They need emotional response nevertheless, but if it were to come from an adult or child they would fall back upon their habitual defences of hostility or withdrawal. An animal is an affectionate, living being, but to care for it has not the demands, disadvantages, tensions and uncertainties of a human relationship. Boys have commented (after they had passed to a stage at which they could confide in an adult), that they *could only* talk to the dog or the cow, and as one boy remarked, ' the animals always say ' yes ' to you '.

Most of the boys at Shotton have only seen sex as morbid and unpleasant, and have little idea that the relations of parent-child can be other than hostile, and that those of mother-father can be other than animus-ridden. ' Sex education ' is more than the satisfying of the boy's doubts about the biology of sex; few boys are troubled about such doubts, and the significant cause of emotional unrest about sex is more likely to be the boy's (often unconscious and disguised) puzzlement and fear about the *emotional* relationships between the sexes. ' Sex education ' is not, therefore, confined to the giving of biological information but must be extended to the general psychotherapy of the boy and is an integral part of it. However, ' sex education ', even in the broadest sense, is comparatively lightly charged with emotion, less likely to awaken unconscious guilt and anxiety, and more likely to be of therapeutic value to the boy if his sense of proportion is helped by seeing animals giving birth to, and caring for, their young without the over-excitement, shame and attempted concealment to which their parents have accustomed them.

The other aspect of training that is discussed here in detail is that of constructional work, *i.e.* building and similar work, the main psychological importance of which was neatly expressed by George, aged 10, who was one day helping to mix cement for the new classroom. He thought a few moments and said: ' If we wanted to, *we* could have built Shotton, couldn't we? '. George unwittingly was drawing attention to the sense of achievement and success, and of identification

with a group which the co-operative bustle of building creates. Another aspect is that constructional activity combats the unhealthy lethargy of some children, and convinces them of the satisfaction of doing things and making things.

But until a boy has begun to make progress in his individual emotional adjustment he may not wish or be able to be more than a mere bystander. Only gradually does a boy become dissatisfied with looking on and want actively to help; he has to overcome his sense of inadequacy and shyness, and will be gently given excuses to join at his own level, for example by simple fetching, carrying and holding. The newcomer must be allowed to watch, and to decide for himself when (and if) it is safe to venture into the uncharted deeps of social life. A boy cannot be hurried towards a spontaneous and genuine willingness and readiness to create, co-operate and compete, for this willingness depends on the resolution of his insecurity and malaise. Emotionally, building and similar work make fewer demands on a boy than activities in which he has to express himself individually, such as ' free ' art, and an acutely unstable boy often finds that precision craft-work is too intensive and demanding of his attention for him to manage it. Helping to design a shed (even if the help is less active or technically important than the encouragement of it objectively warrants) is less committal than painting a picture, and this is particularly pertinent to the treatment of a boy who suspects that in his picture he is revealing some incidents of his emotional life that he would rather keep hidden. Building also satisfies aggressive and destructive impulses, yet at the same time it paradoxically converts them into constructive channels, and creates its own compensation and reparation for such destruction. Knocking down a wall to use the bricks for rebuilding, tearing nails out of a beam, mixing concrete, burning old paint—these are not only aggressive acts but are steps in a visibly constructive and social activity. Of course, these psychotherapeutic elements are by-products of the activity, and in no way replace the paramountcy of individual psychological treatment.

Maladjusted children frequently come from homes in which the adults are forever veering and tacking from fullsome affection and conscience-lulling gift-giving to cold rejection or active hostility. The child cannot trust adults and it is difficult (or even impossible) to demonstrate to him that trust is not dangerous but is a possible and a normal response. This lack of trust is a well known hindrance in the early individual psychotherapeutic interviews, and a complete inability to co-operate is by no means unusual. At different institutions different techniques are used to resolve this difficulty, and there is always need of an emotionally neutral prop or scaffolding to support the sensitive and frail structure of the early stages of a positive transference, and to ease the strain and tension of an experimental, tentative friendship. The whole range of shared activities provides a ready means of unobtrusively fostering the transference, and is (if the adults are alert and imaginative) the neutral emotional ground on which adults and children can learn to know and understand one another. A boy who would be suspicious of a private formal interview with an adult, and might withdraw emotionally, is often readier to accept an informal situation without suspecting or troubling about its psychological significance; he will unburden himself sitting on the garden gate, or in the car on the way to the town, or squatting in an adult's room in front of his fire. This is a strong argument in favour of an adult's working with a small group of boys, which is strengthened by the tendency of members

of a small group to discuss themselves and their problems. Very frequently an impromptu group-therapy session becomes a most important ancillary to bricklaying or waiting for the bus or wandering about the orchard to collect the eggs. Adults must be aware of the significance of such occasions, must be able to take advantage of them, and must realize when it is best to change the subject to one less charged with emotion.

This article has concentrated on some aspects of activity that are generally not considered to be promising material for the pyschotherapist's attention, but at Shotton Hall there are other activities more easily recognized for their therapeutic value. There is, of course, the widest informality and friendship between adults and boys so that the school has many of the advantages of the ' informal ' psychotherapy which I discussed in this journal in July 1955.[1] The school has an educational programme ranging from the fundamentals of remedial education to the ' O ' level examinations, and schooling also serves the functions of therapy in that it offers yet another field in which the boy can obtain a sense of achievement and get individual adult attention. The classes are small, and the teacher may be helping boys who are retarded in the basic subjects, have a history of truanting, and are withdrawn, negative or fractious in class. Many boys lack interest in schooling, some because of the absence of cultural stimulus in their homes, or because of the emotional demands of their maladjustment. Boys have much contact outside class with the teachers who must be as interested in the boys as individuals as they are in the formality of teaching their subjects. Besides the educational and cultural life of the school, there is much consistent individual psychotherapy carried out by the Principal (or by trained members of the staff) with the advice and co-operation of the school's consultant psychiatrist or the psychiatrist of the authority responsible for the boy, and there are regular and frequent staff discussions about children and about the general policy of the school. The school has evolved a system of shared responsibility, and a major agent of social control and public opinion is the Children's Committee.

I have suggested that even conventional social-vocational training has psychological value, and if the school's basic assumption is that psychotherapy is the prior consideration, then all activities can be made to contribute to that aim. In recent times there has been a steady infiltration of individual psychological methods into the field of social training; and similarly individual psychotherapy has begun to incorporate social methods. Social training may do little more than show a courteous deference to its psychological implications, and then it is doing but part of its job because it ignores that ' it is dangerous to produce good social behaviour by means which leave the anti-social emotions untouched.[2]

LEONARD BLOOM.

[1] ' Some Aspects of the Residential Psychotherapy of Maladjusted or Delinquent Children.' *Brit. J. Delinq.*, VI, 1, 41–49.

[2] ' Education and the Social Order.' Bertrand Russell. Allen and Unwin.

Crime and Punishment

I.S.T.D. Summer School, 1959

The Institute for the Study and Treatment of Delinquency held its 1959 Summer School from 14th to 19th September in the very congenial atmosphere of Nottingham's Florence Nightingale Hall. A crowded programme kept us busy from morning to night; we heard lectures morning and evening, broke into discussion groups from which we reported back, and went out on a wide variety of visits every afternoon and on one whole day. An astonishing amount of information can be conveyed in a week and this school was perhaps more than usually characterized by the very wide view it took of our subject, ' *Crime* and *Punishment* '. It would be presumptuous to attempt to summarize all the learned papers presented, but something should be said about the different views revealed.

The psychiatric aspects were well represented by Dr. Tom Ratcliffe and Dr. Edward Glover. Dr. Ratcliffe, indeed, set a high tone for the whole week by giving a most thoughtful opening address. He reminded us that any discussion on Punishment, even the most scientific, is coloured by emotion and that its association with childhood is sometimes misleading. Punishment only works when there is a sound relationship and this is what so many delinquents lack. What is, or should be, society's view on Punishment, and, above all, can it be a constructive thing, even a valuable part of helping offenders?

Dr. Glover's talk on ' Guilt and Punishment ' was, in a sense, more conventional in that he presented the staunch psycho-analytic interpretation wherein the super ego, that internalized parent figure, shoulders most of the blame.

On a completely different and highly practical level, Mr. J. B. Taylor and Mr. John Brophy spoke with authority on the Open Prison and the Detention Centre. They gave us ample detail both of the daily regime and of the kind of problems encountered in their respective establishments and delegates were obviously grateful for the opportunity to ply both speakers with questions.

Captain Athelstan Popkess read us what can only be described as an eloquent paper on ' Punishment as a Deterrent '. As might perhaps be expected, he told us straight from the shoulder that in his view, gleaned from long military and police experience, punishment and, need it be said, corporal punishment, was most certainly a deterrent.

A somewhat unusual discourse on ' Motoring Offences ' was undertaken by Col. T. S. Willett, in which he told us of some research he is embarking upon in this field. As these now number 48 per cent. of all offences and as almost all groups in the population (except women) are involved, there is no doubt whatever of the enormous importance of this subject for scientific study.

What might be termed the sociological aspects were represented by two other papers, namely, that on ' Punishment and Social Rehabilitation ' by Mr. G. J. Hawkins and on ' The Social Impact of Punishment ' by Mr. H. A. Prins. Mr. Hawkins was both learned and provocative and made it quite clear that, of course, Crime Pays. Mr. Prins, perhaps, attempted rather too much in painting an enormous canvas touching on the whole subject of criminology itself. Both sessions, however, produced worthwhile discussions.

Finally, Professor Morris Ginsberg spoke on ' The Morality of Punishment '

in a paper which aptly reflected his unique and profound study of the subject. He brought us back to the fundamental questions of responsibility and of freedom and left us with the utopian suggestion of a society where the conditions for crime were eliminated and punishment no longer necessary because recognized as ineffective.

These academic sessions were counterbalanced by daily visits to a variety of different penal and rehabilitation establishments with which Nottingham and district is well supplied. Both the generosity of the authorities in making us so welcome and the amount of work involved in organizing so many visits were very much appreciated. We were able to see two prisons, an open Borstal, a detention centre, approved schools, an institution for criminal lunatics and a few more.

Finally, a word more must be said about the members attending the school. In the opinion of this writer, the mixture of experience and knowledge assembled together was both the most interesting and most valuable aspect of the week. Here were magistrates, prison and Borstal governors, psychiatrists, probation officers, university and school teachers, overseas visitors and those cryptically described as ' members of the I.S.T.D.' (besides Mr. Claud Mullins), living and talking together all day long. It was refreshingly noticeable that for once this summer school was by no means preaching to the converted and, as at all such conferences, probably the best work was done in conversation over meals, *en route* to a visit or in late night sessions in the lounge.

MARY F. ROBERTSON.

CAMBRIDGE INSTITUTE OF CRIMINOLOGY

The University of Cambridge is transforming its Department of Criminal Science into an Institute of Criminology. The Director of the Department, Dr. Leon Radzinowicz, has been appointed Director of the new Institute and Professor of Criminology.

CRITICAL NOTICES

Publications on Sentencing

Some Aspects of Judicial Sentencing Policy. Hermann Mannheim, *The Yale Law Journal*, May 1958, Vol. 67, No. 6.

Symposium on Sentencing, *Law and Contemporary Problems*, Duke University School of Law, Durham, North Carolina, Summer 1958, Vol. XXIII, No. 3.

Crime and Juvenile Delinquency. By Sol Rubin. A Rational Approach to Penal Problems, 1958, Published for the National Probation and Parole Association by Oceana Publications, Inc., New York. Pp. 240 (including Index and Table of Cases).

These three items have in common a concern to explore the question of sentencing the convicted offender, which, as the editors of the Symposium point out in their Foreword, constitutes ' a critically important nexus in the process of criminal justice administration '. Sentencing is vital for two reasons, firstly, because it signalizes the end of the trial phase, and the sentence ought to reflect accurately the community's attitude toward the misconduct of which the offender has been adjudged guilty, and secondly, because it marks the threshold of the treatment phase. ' Largely defining its character and length, sentencing must also look to the offender's rehabilitation.' Many questions concerning the exercise of the sentencing function are discussed in these three most valuable contributions, which should not be missed by anyone interested in the subject. They may be regarded as a sign of renewed concern in the subject on the part of criminologists, which this reviewer shares wholeheartedly, but, as Dr. Mannheim points out in his *Yale Law Journal* article, the subject has in the past attracted a good deal of attention, and there is already an immense literature relating to it.

Dr. Mannheim provides us with a most comprehensive and stimulating account of the legal, philosophical and statistical aspects of the subject (which is certainly not new to him). He observes that limits are placed upon the exercise of judicial discretion by the penal code of any country, which may well provide an imperative sentence, leaving no choice for the sentencing court, as in the case of capital and non-capital murder in Britain. Usually a maximum penalty is provided, and occasionally, though not in Britain as a rule, minimum penalties are prescribed. In addition, a host of more elastic legislative devices exists to guide the exercise of judicial discretion. In Dr. Mannheim's own words, ' different scales of penalties may be set forth for cases with aggravating or mitigating circumstances; the courts may be directed to consult the penal administration, psychiatric or other experts, or to consider the reports of preliminary investigations by probation officers; or the use of a certain penalty, such as imprisonment, may be permitted only " if no other method of dealing with the offender is appropriate ", or if the offender has acted from " infamous " motives.' The variety of these several arrangements has recently been carefully analysed by the Institute of Foreign and Comparative Criminal Law of the University of Freiburg in a series of studies to which Dr. Mannheim refers.

How far the legislator should give statutory guidance to the judges on the principles to be observed in sentencing offenders is bound to be a matter of con-

troversy, and it is characteristic of Dr. Mannheim that he takes a bold line. He comes out in favour of more statutory intrusion into the province of the judge: 'It is essential,' he maintains, 'that the legislator make his position clear about certain questions,' and he goes on to argue that Parliament should decide how the balance is to be struck between punishment and treatment, between deterrence and the protection of society and the re-education and resocialization of offenders; the legislators should indicate to the judges what are the supreme objectives of criminal justice. With the greatest respect, in view of the jealousy with which our judges guard their privileges, would this not be an exceedingly brave course for the legislature to adopt, even if it knew the answers? Moreover, does not Dr. Mannheim himself recognize that there is a multiplicity of aims, when at a later point in his paper he says that 'no penal philosophy can today be based upon one single idea, be it retribution, prevention or whatever; rather will it be a somewhat dubious mixture of heterogeneous elements. . . .'? May it not be far better in the circumstances to leave these fundamental issues formally unresolved, and to rely on informal solutions to be worked out empirically over the years by the careful development of closer co-operation between judges, police, probation officers, and the prison and medical services? This may sound to some like a counsel of despair or of reaction, but can we be sure, with an American judge quoted by Dr. Mannheim, that if sentencing criteria are spelled out by the legislature in the statute, 'when the judge has such criteria before him on the bench in the form of a statute as he sentences, his sentencing will be better done'?

In favour of more statutory guidance, one may cite the precedents of the Children and Young Persons Act's direction to the juvenile court to 'have regard to the welfare of the child', and the directions to the courts under the Criminal Justice Act, 1948, with regard to sentences of Borstal training, corrective training, and preventive detention. But it is to the appeal courts that one looks for authoritative leads on sentencing. The extensive jurisprudence of the Court of Criminal Appeal plays a vital part in the development of sentencing policy in Britain, and it may well be that it is from these quarters, rather than from Parliament, that we must expect formal guidance on this matter. Of course, it is always open to Parliament to change the rules of the game, but it is for the appeal courts to supervise the run of the play. Dr. Mannheim recognizes the role of the Court of Criminal Appeal in this matter (and that of the ubiquitous Home Office circular), but he is extremely unhappy about the way that court through its decisions altered the range of certain penalties provided by the Criminal Justice Act, 1948, and perhaps he too readily agrees with Professor Orfield's comment that the problem of sentencing is not soluble by an appellate court. The possibility of allowing the administrative authorities to petition the appeal court to re-sentence the offender within a certain period of the original sentence, where it is considered that the original sentence was unsuitable or erred in principle, along the lines of the American Law Institute's Model Penal Code proposal, is rightly described by Dr. Mannheim as 'worthy of the most serious consideration'. Finally, there is the part played by research in the whole picture, which is of increasing significance, though its influence must remain at best indirect. Dr. Mannheim describes research as 'a mirror which will give the judiciary growing insight into its work . . . eventually leading to required changes in policy'. Sentencing research usually involves the statistical analysis of penalties imposed in selected samples of

cases. Its limitations are obvious: no one can tell what is in the mind of the judge when he sentences the offender. ' As soon as an attempt is made to get away from empty commonplaces, the task becomes intricate '. Yet the effort must be made, and it is good to know that several such researches are in progress in the United Kingdom.

Law and Contemporary Problems is a quarterly magazine produced by Duke University School of Law, Durham, North Carolina. Each number consists of a symposium of essays by various specialists in law and the social sciences grouped around one central theme. The issue of Summer 1958 was devoted to Sentencing, and a very interesting number it is. The contributions are uniformly good, and it must henceforth occupy an important place in the literature on the subject.

The symposium begins with a thoughtful piece by Professor Henry M. Hart, Jr., of the Harvard Law School, on ' The Aims of the Criminal Law ', in which he emphasizes the function of the criminal law in setting up standards of community behaviour and personal response, and in which he underlines the multiplicity of aims of the criminal law, catering for both institutional and social needs as well as for the needs of the individual offender. Indeed, this part of the article is capable of being interpreted as a somewhat spirited attack upon those who argue that the sole aim of the criminal law lies in the rehabilitation of the offender. Professor Hart argues that the explicit abandonment of the concept of moral condemnation of criminal conduct would be as unsound as treating the purpose of cure and rehabilitation as predominating while sweeping under the rug the hard facts of the social need and the moral rightness of condemnation. Professor Sheldon Glueck's article on Predictive Devices and the Individualization of Justice is not really in harmony with Professor Hart's views. The former realizes the difficulties which the courts face in truly individualizing the sentence in the case of any specific offender, but his remedy is different from Professor Hart's. While he accepts the variability of judicial sentencing, he thinks this can be solved by providing the courts with superior aids such as prediction tables. It is only fair to add that he makes a number of other useful comments and suggestions which are worthy of attention.

The article by Dr. Ralph Brancale on Diagnostic Techniques in Aid of Sentencing is more clinical than the rest. As one would expect from the Director of the New Jersey Diagnostic Centre, it represents a first-class account of the clinician's rôle, and the contribution such a person can be expected to make to the sentencing of the offender.

Then we come to a series of articles discussing various different kinds of sentencing procedure. Sentencing by an Administrative Board is the subject of an article by Professor Norman S. Hayner, formerly Chairman of Washington State Board of Prison Terms and Paroles. This is a very revealing account of the practical problems encountered when sentencing and paroling is made an administrative not a judicial function. A trenchant contribution by Professor H. Warren Bunham under the title ' The Juvenile Court—Contradictory Orientations in Processing Offenders ', needs no description other than the title, save that it lives up to the expectations aroused by the title. Sentencing proposals under the Model Penal Code are described by Professor Paul Tappan, one of the chief architects of those proposals. In a separate contribution, Mr. Will C. Turnbladh, the Director of the National Probation and Parole Association, subjects them to a most critical

analysis. Last but not least comes another powerful article by Dr. Mannheim entitled ' Comparative Sentencing Practice '.

Perhaps the most original contribution in the whole symposium is that jointly written by Professors Lloyd Ohlin and Frank Remington, entitled ' Sentencing Structure: Its Effect upon Systems for the Administration of Justice '. This endeavours to show the way in which the sentencing policy of the courts influences, and is influenced by, the attitude of the offender, the police, and the prosecution. It has a real effect on the question whether the accused pleads guilty to the crime charged, or to a lesser offence, and so forth. In similar fashion, the influence of legislatively fixed minimum and maximum terms is discussed. Some of this territory is covered in Professor Hart's paper, and the general approach will come as no surprise to students aware of functionalist approaches to legal problems.

Mr. Sol Rubin, who is Counsel to the National Probation and Parole Association, has written a lively book on penal problems. He argues fairly convincingly that the basic approach of the American Law Institute's draft Model Penal Code towards the question of sentencing, involving as it does the rejection of the Youth Authority plan (its own brain-child of some years ago) together with a system of definite sentences of fairly long duration, constitutes a negation of all the best trends in American penology, and promises to erect further barriers in the path of progress. Mr. Rubin would prefer a much more flexible system of discretion exercised by the courts or penal administrators.

His devotion to the twin ideals of a progressive system of sentencing coupled with proper safeguards for the accused—' to protect the recipient of the service ', as he puts it—leads him not only to criticize sharply the Model Penal Code provisions, but to question many of the practices of American juvenile courts. For example, he asks whether it is justifiable to punish the parents of juvenile delinquents. The logic of this should be that if the child is truant from school we punish the teacher. In his view such provisions cannot work to reduce delinquency or to make parents more responsible or better parents. On the subject of the operation of the juvenile courts themselves, like Professor Warren Durham, he points to the confusion of aims and concepts, and argues strongly against the adoption of psychiatric or social definitions of delinquency unrelated to the proof of an infraction of the criminal law. His approach is frankly legalistic, but not pedantically so; he never allows this dogged insistence on legal safeguards to obscure his real concern for the child's interest and for the progressive development of the juvenile court idea.

Another subject on which Mr. Rubin is worth reading is the question of presentence reports, and again he has many wise things to say on the subject of probation and parole, and the rehabilitation of the offender in terms of civil status. Though his ideas on ' research for a scientific criminology ' appear to be rather impractical, his critique of previous research work in this field is stimulating and provocative, and his views on the Gluecks' ' Unravelling Juvenile Delinquency', reproduced in the final chapter of this book, are already too well known to need description. The book is really a collection of papers which have appeared from time to time in professional journals. As Mr. Rubin himself observes, ' The impulses to write as and when I did arose out of the urgencies of the field '. It is a real advantage to have these papers brought together within one cover in this

way. This is, in the reviewer's opinion, one of the most challenging and important books on the subject of delinquency to reach us from across the water for some time. All those who are concerned to think their way through the current ideological and institutional jungle in this field should make a point of reading it.

J. E. Hall Williams.

Two Collections of Essays

The Sutherland Papers. Edited by Albert Cohen, Alfred Lindesmith and Karl Schuessler. (Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1956. Pp. vi and 330. $5.)

What is Justice? Justice, Law, and Politics in the Mirror of Science. Collected Essays by Hans Kelsen. (University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1957. Published in England by the Cambridge University Press, 1958. Pp. 397. 56s. 6d.)

The late Professor Edwin H. Sutherland was one of the most eminent and influential theoretical criminologists of the present century. Through his theories of differential association and white-collar crime, as elaborated in his ' Textbook ' and his other writings, he exerted an exceptionally strong influence on criminological thought not only in the United States but throughout the western world. He was particularly fortunate in the choice of his students, many of whom are now in important academic positions from where they carry on his work, diffuse it and bring it up to date: in addition to the three editors of the present volume, the names of Marshall B. Clinard and Donald R. Cressey, the editor of the latest edition of Sutherland's ' Principles of Criminology ', are widely known.

The present collection, which is divided into eight parts, contains in addition to a number of previously published articles several hitherto unpublished papers, some of which are of considerable value for our understanding of the development of Sutherland's thought and theories. There are also short but useful introductory notes by the editors prefacing each Part. Moreover, there is a select bibliography of Sutherland's writings at the end, but it may be a matter for regret that, apart from the few data given in the Introduction, no complete biography is given in this volume. All the more welcome is the reproduction of Sutherland's address of 1942 on the development of the theory of differential association and, in particular, of his 1944 paper on the critique of this theory, both of them hitherto unpublished and, in the words of the editors, ' a remarkably candid autobiographical revelation of the continuous intellectual growth of an outstanding criminological theorist.' The 1944 paper, in which the potential criticisms of the theory of differential association are discussed with candour and lucidity, is a model of scientific integrity of the highest order, but it is regrettable that it has remained unpublished for so many years (we are told in a footnote that it was ' intended only for circulation among Sutherland's associates ') and that the theory was ' set forth ' in the 1947 edition of the ' Principles ' ' with the same vigor as (in) the 1939 edition, although the exposition was substantially modified in some respects.' In any case, the posthumous publication of these two papers, while enhancing Sutherland's stature as a scholar, does nothing to strengthen his theory of differential association. If his methodological starting point is correct that one single exception is enough to disprove any theory, why not admit that this

particular theory is no more than only one—no doubt an important and illuminating one—among many possible explanations of criminal behaviour? It is difficult to see why some of Sutherland's followers, e.g. Frank Hartung in his stimulating recent ' Critique of the Sociological Approach to Crime and Correction ',[1] should constantly claim far more credit for it than this. And it is even more disconcerting to find that Sutherland, in spite of his own doubts as revealed in the 1944 paper, a few years later in the paper on ' Crime of Corporations ' (1948), also not previously published, seems to repeat his assertion that personal and social pathologies play no essential part in the causation of crime (p. 79). This paper of 1948 is the only hitherto unpublished contribution to Part II of the present volume, which deals with white-collar crime. Here the assertion, entirely incomprehensible to the present reviewer, is once more made that ' if it can be shown that businessmen, without these pathologies, commit many crimes, then such pathologies cannot be used as the explanation of the crimes of other classes.' It is impossible to accept Sutherland's often repeated view that since poverty, *e.g.* plays no part in white-collar crime, it cannot conceivably contribute to crimes committed by persons who are not prosperous businessmen. Criminologists before Sutherland had certainly tended to ignore white-collar crime, but to maintain that, because crimes committed by businessmen are often not brought before the criminal courts, ' consequently the criminologists do not come into contact with these businessmen ' and therefore know nothing about them, seems to ignore the simple fact that criminologists, too, are human beings living in a community and may as private citizens have a good many contacts with white-collar criminals.

With one exception, the subsequent Parts contain only a few papers of any importance which had not been previously published, but some of the published ones were not easily accessible before, and it is good to have them assembled in this volume. This applies in particular to the papers on ' Wartime Crime ' (1943), on ' The decreasing Prison Population of England ' (1934) and to the devastating criticism of the ' Sexual Psychopaths Laws ' (1950). The one exception is the report on Michael and Adler's book ' Crime, Law, and Social Science ', which caused such a stir when it appeared in 1932. Sutherland's critical approach to that book was written at the request of the Social Science Research Council; it was largely, and to some extent deservedly, negative, but according to the editors Sutherland later admitted that he had in fact been greatly influenced by these authors.

To sum up, Sutherland's contributions to criminology, outstanding as they are, show some of the characteristic features—the strength as well as the weaknesses—of the writings of an eminent scholar who, endowed with a superior analytical and critical faculty, had—so it seems—never done any practical work in the field of his studies. His prolonged preoccupation with the ' professional thief ', though leading to important theoretical conclusions, can hardly count as practical work. Moreover, even within the theoretical field he kept mainly within the limits of one single discipline. This, while enabling him to make several profound and original contributions to criminological theory, at the same time tended to deprive him of that complete and all-round understanding of all aspects of his problems which only a perfect blend of theory and practice can produce. Here lies the explanation

[1] *Law and Contemporary Problems*, ' Crime and Correction ' (School of Law, Duke University), Vol. XXIII, Number 4, Autumn, 1958, pp. 725 ff.

of his persistent attacks on the ' multiple factor theory ', of the otherwise incomprehensible failure of a scholar endowed with exceptional critical faculties to appreciate the obvious limitations of his own theories, and his lack of understanding of psychiatric and psycho-analytical issues, although the present volume shows that in the latter direction he was occasionally willing to make some slight concessions.

Much of what has just been said with regard to Sutherland might, *mutatis mutandis*, also be applied to Hans Kelsen. He, happily still alive, has been one of the great figures of twentieth-century jurisprudence, and most of his theories in this field have been as influential as they have been the target of persistent, and often well-founded, criticism. As we are told by the publishers, Kelsen was considered ' the leading jurist of the time ' by no less a man than Dean Roscoe Pound. A legal philosopher of great analytical power, his literary output has been much larger and covers a wider range than that of Sutherland, but it consists essentially of variations on one single theme, the ' pure theory of law ', and it may be doubted whether this theory will stand the test of time. With Sutherland, he shares the preference and aptitude for ' pure ' theory as against applied science.

It may be surprising to find Kelsen asking in this volume ' What is Justice? ' Has it not been the fundamental dogma of his school that it is not the business of the jurist to ask such questions? Has not, according to Kelsen, legal science to confine itself strictly to the interpretation of the positive law and to leave all questions of what *ought* to be the law to political science, ethics, and other non-legal disciplines? The answer is, of course, that in this collection of essays Kelsen tries to show that all attempts to provide a more than purely formal definition of justice have failed and are bound to fail. This he demonstrates in particular in the first six essays which, after the introductory, not previously published, essay from which the whole volume has received its title, deal with the idea of justice in the Scriptures, in Plato and Aristotle, with ' The Natural-Law Doctrine before the Tribunal of Science ' and with a ' dynamic ' theory of natural law. With a wealth of quotations from the Scriptures, Plato, Aristotle and the great teachers of natural law up to the present century, Kelsen tries to prove that none of them has been able to produce anything more than an empty formula. While the Scriptures refer in the last resort to faith, ' justice comes from God to faith ', while Plato resorts to a divine mystery which remains inexpressible, Aristotle defines justice as that virtue which gives everyone his due, without explaining what is ' due ' but, rather, leaving it to the positive law to tell us more about it. And the same is true of the whole natural law movement throughout the centuries. Nevertheless, the author admits, that movement has not been without value, although this value lies not in the field of scientific truth but rather in that of politics. In this connection, he refers to Plato's distinction between permissible and impermissible lies. ' That the natural-law doctrine, as it pretends, is able to determine in an objective way what is just, is a lie ; but those who consider it useful may make use of it as a useful lie ' (p. 173). The natural-law theory is based upon that confusion, against which Kelsen has been fighting all his life, between what is and what ought to be the law, and it assumes that value judgments are real and objective. ' Judgments of justice cannot be tested objectively. Therefore a science of law has no room for them,' he repeats in the essay on ' Value Judgments in the Science of Law ' (p. 229).

Much of Kelsen's criticism of the natural law movement is of course justified, but it may be questionable whether from his positivistic starting-point he has been able to do full justice to the profound stimulus which that movement has, over centuries, given to the constant process of rethinking and reassessing the justification of the positive law without which the whole work of the jurist would lose its sense. In the last resort we are here concerned not with logic but with attitudes and feelings.

In the short, and apparently not previously published, essay ' Why should the Law be obeyed? ', which in a way provides a summing-up of the preceding chapters, things are brought to a climax. Legal positivism, the author has to admit, can give only a conditional answer by referring to the norm that we ought to obey the provisions of the ' historically first constitution ' (p. 262)—but why ' ought ' we? Nor is natural law in any better position, as it has to resort again to man's ' nature ', a concept which may be exploited for the most diverse purposes.

The essays on ' Causality and Retribution ' and ' Causality and Imputation ' which, together with one on ' Science and Politics ', form the final part of this thought-provoking collection, seem at the first glance to be far removed from its main subjects. In fact, they are closely related to at least one of them, the need for a clear-cut separation of the ' is ' from the ' ought ', of reality and norm. As Kelsen has pointed out in his book ' Society and Nature ' (1943), to which the essay on ' Causality and Retribution ', first published in 1941, seems to have been a preliminary study, human thinking in the field of causality has begun not with the natural but with the social sciences. Primitive man conceives the principle of retribution rather than that of causality as the fundamental rule of the social order.

H. M.

REVIEWS

THEORETICAL CRIMINOLOGY. By George B. Vold. (New York and Oxford University Press, 1958. Pp. 334. 40s.)

' Theoretical Criminology ' is an excellent exposition of the many theories of the many kinds of behaviour which are grouped together and termed criminal by the penal systems of the advanced industrial and commercial nations of the Western world. The book is divided into four parts. In Part I classical and neo-classical theories—the basic doctrine of which is that human beings are responsible for their actions and can be restrained from criminal behaviour by fear of punishment—are compared and contrasted with positivist theories. In Part II an outline is given of ' theories centering in peculiarities and abnormalities of the individual '. This is of variable quality. The first three broadly historical sections—on physical type theories, mental test theories and genetic defect theories—are extremely well done. The next chapter, on the contemporary theme of ' Psychopathy as the Orientation for Theory ', is a sketchy piece of work. A final short section, on the need for more research into the personality differences underlying a mixed batch of offences from drunkenness to prostitution, makes no mention of work already done in these fields.

These omissions are perhaps to be explained by the writer's concluding reflection that ' the general theory of crime causation held by the researcher will determine for him both his problem and his method of procedure in studying the problem.'

His heart is very obviously in Part III—' theories centering in group or cultural influences '. The semi-historical discussion of economic-criminal correlations is most typical. Ferri and Poletti, writing in the 1880's, showed that increase in criminality was directly and not inversely related to increase in economic activity. In plain words—' The more well-being becomes widespread and wealth greater, the more thieves, forgers and swindlers there are.' But economic factors are a comparatively minor constituent in the social determinants of crime. Professor Vold goes on to enumerate a specifically political theory of ' normal ' crime as the outcome of group conflicts: a natural extension of the clash of interests and the struggle for power in modern industrial society. This ties together quite neatly the phenomenon of nation-wide criminal syndicates uncovered by the Kefauver Committee in 1950–1 and the more subtle practices described by Sutherland as ' white-collar ' crime.

Professor Vold's application of this group-conflict theory is unduly parochial. He limits it to political-criminal behaviour in the U.S.A., and to the distinctive political-economic system of the U.S.A. Organized crime, he says, is ' a developmental adjunct to our general system of private profit economy '; white-collar crime is characteristic of a business-for-profit economy. But U.S.S.R., which is not a private profit economy, is surely an even happier hunting ground for theorists who wish to subsume criminal group behaviour under a general theory of politics as a struggle for power.

This is only one example of the book's main weakness. Professor Vold is not concerned merely to write a text-book; he is mainly interested in stating the conditions which a general theory of crime must satisfy to be regarded as scientific. His thinking on this abstract level is vitiated by semantic confusions. For example ' scientific ' means for him ' pertaining to the theory and method of the natural sciences '. But many of the ' principal theories commonly utilized in accounting for criminality ' which he discusses are ' scientific ' in the much less specific sense of bodies of knowledge organized as well as the known facts will allow, but not meeting the criteria of the natural sciences. The political group-conflict theory on which he leans so heavily was an attempt to make a natural science of politics; but, as Bernard Crick has recently shown, it is in fact suffused with value judgments, part of the American dream of ' manifest destiny ' now so rudely moon-shot down.

Finally, the whole book rests on an acceptance of what one might call the Continental version of positivism, which is completely deterministic in its explanation of human behaviour. In this it represents fairly accurately the main body of ' natural-scientific ' criminological thinking. The writer might also have consulted some less dogmatic versions of positivism. Mr. Noel Annan's recent Hobhouse lecture, for example, represents the positivist tradition in England (and inferentially, one might add, in America) as not excluding freedom of choice of alternative course of action from its account of human nature. Professor Vold is well aware of the dubious implication of natural-scientific positivist theory, exemplified in the career of Ferri and Garofalo; namely, that it fits very easily into totalitarian patterns of government. It seems that positivist determinism, like every other theory of human behaviour, includes a value-judgment about human beings and how they should be treated.

On the level of theory the standpoint taken up in this book, and by traditional

Continental criminology, offers a Draconian solution to the major problem of the contemporary human sciences. That problem is to reconcile the concept of human conduct exemplified in the ' reasonable man ' of the men of law, and derived from 2,000 years of reflective experience, with the concept of human behaviour developed since the eighteenth century by the originators and inheritors of the Enlightenment. Professor Vold simply dismisses the older conception as ' pre-scientific '. This makes the whole thing much too easy. If the bulk of human beings are in fact responsible for their actions in the main—and this is the assumption on which our social and economic and legal system operates with a fair degree of effectiveness—then it is hopelessly unscientific in the broad sense of the word to insist that they should be studied as though no one was in any sense responsible. Criminology will never get very far in its quest for an adequate general theory until its exponents achieve the capacity which A. L. Smith attributed to the great historian, F. W. Maitland—' the power of allowing for co-existent opposites, and embodying them in one conspectus just as they exist in real life '. JOHN A. MACK.

ZUR PSYCHOLOGY DER EINZELDELIKTE. By Hans von Hentig. Vol. II, Der Mord. (Tubingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck). 1956. Pp. viii + 287. DM 22.) Vol. III, Der Betrug (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck). 1957. Pp. ix + 221. DM 18.50.)

DER GANGSTER: EINE KRIMINALPSYCHOLOGISCHE STUDIE. By Hans von Hentig. (Berlin-Gottingen-Heidelberg: Springer-Verlag. 1959. Pp. 245. Paperbound. DM 19.80.)

The first volume of Professor von Hentig's series on the psychology of specific offences, which dealt with larceny, housebreaking, and robbery, was reviewed in the *British Journal of Delinquency*, Vol. VI, p. 66. It has been followed in quick succession by one on murder and one on false pretences (in the widest sense of the term). The technique employed has remained substantially the same, and there are all those inimitable and well-known characteristics of Hentig's writings, especially of his post-war period; his immense knowledge of the history of crime and of certain branches of international criminological literature, and his shrewd understanding of the mentality of the individual criminal. In the Foreword to ' Der Mord ' he modestly claims for his work to be no more than to provide the foundations for that ' big Book of Murder ' which, he thinks, is bound to come one day, and, similarly, the study of the swindler is described as a ' first step ' only. His claim is fully justified, although the author will be the first to admit that these foundations can be laid in many different ways according to the predilections and abilities of the writers concerned. The material on murder is taken from 150 reported cases, some of them of international fame or notoriety, such as de Brinvilliers, Christie, Crippen, Haarmann, Haigh, Halsmann, Hau, Landry, Loeb-Leopold, Rouse, while many others are entirely unknown to a wider public. Special attention is paid to the problems of the dark number and of mass murder. In the author's view it is not the motive, but rather the situation, that provides the mental clues to the understanding of murder, the motive being static, the situation dynamic and ever-changing. The study, it is stressed, is essentially psychological, not biological, and Lombroso's conception of a distinct type of murderer is, in spite of the tribute paid to Lombroso's genius, regarded as a scientific mistake.

In the study of swindlers, the references range from Cagliostro to the Hauptmann von Köpenick and Thomas Mann's Felix Krull, and the immense variety of types is shown against the political and social background of the times, giving a depressing and often amusing picture of human frailty, stupidity, and greed.

The Gangster book is slightly different from the other two in that its material is exclusively American. Otherwise the technique is much the same. From hundreds of cases a fascinating composite picture of the American gangster emerges, but although the same individuals appear again and again in different connections no detailed and coherent case histories are presented. The information is mostly second-hand, with occasional references to the author's personal knowledge of conditions in some big American cities, notably Kansas City. Here, too, Lombrosian ideas are rejected, but the strong interest in physical types has remained from von Hentig's earlier period. The inadequacy of the material, especially on the psychiatric side, is stressed; ' gangsters as a rule don't consult psychiatrists ', although one of them, Costello, is said to have kept his ' Hauspsychiater '.

H. M.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF SOCIAL CLASS. By M. Halbwachs, trans. C. Delavenay. (London: Heinemann. 1958. Pp. xviii + 142. 16s.)

Most of us think of Maurice Halbwachs—if we think of him at all—in connection with his work on suicide. Perhaps the greatest virtue of this new book (which is a translation of a work written a year or two before the War) is that the appended bibliography of the man's works and the Foreword written by Professor Georges Friedmann show us how wide a field he covered and what we can expect to learn from a scholar with the perceptiveness and erudition we have come to associate with the French sociological tradition. On these grounds alone the new book earns respect.

I am also sure that anyone interested in the social sciences will enjoy what Halbwachs has to say about social class. His writing is civilized (although in this instance not very adequately translated), and his analysis is thoughtful and humane. In passing, the English version of the title may raise unjustified expectations; the word ' psychology ' bears a more technical meaning than was intended by the word ' *psychologie* ' in the original title. Halbwachs was in fact treating ' les représentations collectives ' of social classes, and in doing so he was writing straightforward sociology. Moreover, the sociology is rather that of the study than of the field; I say this with no hint of disparagement (far from it), only to warn the reader of the fact.

The first substantive chapter deals with peasants. Then Halbwachs separately considers, under the general head of Urban Environment and Industrial Civilization, entrepreneurs and bourgeoisie, workers in large-scale industry, and ' The Lower Middle, or Intermediate Class '. For each class he is concerned with the ideas which shape its identity and the factors which determine its particular mode of life. Elsewhere Halbwachs was concerned with the way in which distinctive patterns of expenditure were associated with different status groups, and here returns to this theme in a wider setting. The general treatment is discursive and impressionist, in a manner which most modern sociology eschews; I am not sure that it is any the worse for that.

MAURICE FREEDMAN.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

(*Inclusion in this list does not preclude a later review*)

R. H. AHRENFELDT: ' Psychiatry in the British Army in the Second World War ', Routledge and Kegan Paul, 35s.
M. ANCEL and L. RADZINOWICZ: ' Introduction au Droit Criminel de l'Angleterre ', Les Editions de l'Epargne, Paris, Fr. 1,980.
H. BIANCHI: ' Waar en Waarom Misdaad ', Amsterdam, Noordhollandsche Nitgenerson-aatschappy.
J. V. BARRY: 'Alexander Maconochie of Norfolk Island ', Oxford University Press, 50s.
J. M. VAN BEMMELEN: ' Criminologie: Leerboek der Misdaadkunde ', N. V. Vitgeners-Maatschappy W.E.J.Tjeenk Willink, F. 31.50.
G. J. J. BERNARD: ' L'Esprit Absorbant de l'Enfant ', Desclée de Brouwer, Fr. 1,350.
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(*Owing to lack of space, the remainder of the list has been held over to the next issue.*)

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Published for Northwestern University School of Law by

THE WILLIAMS & WILKINS COMPANY, Baltimore 2, Maryland

Distributed in the U.K. and Commonwealth by Baillière, Tindall & Cox Ltd., 7 and 8 Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, London, W.C.2

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